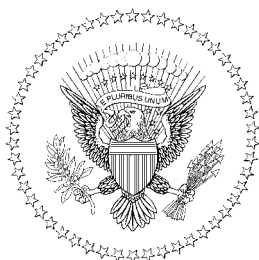


Weekly Compilation of
**Presidential
Documents**



Monday, November 24, 2003
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Editor's Note: The President was en route to Washington, DC, from the United Kingdom on November 21, the closing date of this issue. Releases and announcements issued by the Office of the Press Secretary but not received in time for inclusion in this issue will be printed next week.

WEEKLY COMPILATION OF

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

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Week Ending Friday, November 21, 2003

**Statement on Congressional Action
on Comprehensive Energy
Legislation**

November 14, 2003

I applaud the House and Senate for reaching agreement on a comprehensive energy bill. America will be safer and stronger with a national energy policy that will help keep the lights on, the furnaces lit, and the factories running. A good energy bill is part of my six-point economic plan to create the conditions for job creation and a sustained recovery. By making America less reliant on foreign sources of energy, we also will make our Nation more secure. I commend the Congress for its hard work on this important issue.

NOTE: This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

**Proclamation 7735—National
American Indian Heritage Month,
2003**

November 14, 2003

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

During National American Indian Heritage Month, we honor the accomplishments and culture of American Indians and Alaska Natives and recognize their contributions to our country. To help educate Americans and illustrate the important role of these native people to our Nation, the new National Museum of the American Indian will open next year.

American Indians and Alaska Natives have a long tradition of serving with pride and accomplishment in the United States Armed Forces. Today, their patriotism is reflected in the more than 13,000 American Indians and Alaska Natives serving on active duty and

the more than 6,400 reservists. In Iraq, Specialist Lori Piestewa of the Army's 507th Maintenance Company and a member of the Hopi tribe, was the first American service-woman killed in Operation Iraqi Freedom and the only known American Indian woman killed in action in any conflict. Her bravery, service, and sacrifice are an inspiration to our men and women in uniform and to all Americans.

To ensure the future success of America's tribal communities, my Administration is committed to improving education, increasing employment and economic development, and ensuring better access to health and human services for all American Indians and Alaska natives. Government-wide, we proposed in the 2004 Budget to spend over \$11 billion on Native American programs. The Department of Education's Office of Indian Education is working to implement the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 within the Native American community. Indian tribes, schools, and local education agencies that serve American Indian and Native Alaska children will have access to nearly \$122 million in grants to improve education opportunities. In addition, the Department of the Interior's 2004 program includes over \$49 million for America's tribal colleges and universities. This investment will help American Indian students reach their full potential and achieve their dreams. We are also working to address the healthcare needs of American Indians, particularly the rising incidence of diabetes.

The United States has a strong relationship with American Indian tribes and Alaska Native entities. By continuing to work on a government-to-government basis with these tribal governments, we are fostering greater understanding and promoting tribal self-determination and self-governance.

Now, Therefore, I, George W. Bush, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by

the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim November 2003 as National American Indian Heritage Month. This month, I encourage citizens to learn more about the rich heritage of American Indians and Alaska Natives and the role they have played in building and sustaining our Nation and to commemorate this month with appropriate programs and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this fourteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord two thousand three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-eighth.

George W. Bush

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., November 18, 2003]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on November 19. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

**Memorandum on Return of
Activated Military Members to
Federal Civilian Employment**
November 14, 2003

*Memorandum for the Heads of Executive
Departments and Agencies*

Subject: Return of Activated Military
Members to Federal Civilian Employment

As we welcome home returning Federal civil servants who were called to active duty in the continuing Global War on Terrorism, we recognize the contributions they have made in the defense of freedom. Whether they served with the Reserve Forces or the Air and Army National Guard, each of them has my personal gratitude and the respect and admiration of a grateful Nation.

The Federal Government will continue to be the model for employer support to the Guard and Reserve. We are the guarantors of the rights of returning service members under the Uniformed Services Employment and Reemployment Rights Act, and I am personally committed to providing each of them with our full support, recognition, and assistance. Accordingly, I hereby direct you to

grant Federal employees under your authority who are returning from active duty 5 days of uncharged leave from their civilian duties, consistent with the provisions of Federal law.

We also are grateful for the extra efforts of the many Federal civilian employees who, in the absence of their fellow activated workers, have contributed to the War on Terror, and I urge you to recognize these Federal employees by appropriate means.

George W. Bush

NOTE: This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

**Letter to Congressional Leaders
Reporting on the Deployment of
United States Military Personnel as
Part of the Kosovo International
Security Force**

November 14, 2003

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

In my report to the Congress of May 14, 2003, I provided information regarding the continued deployment of combat-equipped U.S. military personnel as the U.S. contribution to the NATO-led international security force in Kosovo (KFOR) and to other countries in the region in support of that force. I am providing this supplemental report prepared by my Administration, consistent with the War Powers Resolution (Public Law 93-148), to help ensure that the Congress is kept fully informed on continued U.S. contributions in support of peacekeeping efforts in Kosovo.

As noted in previous reports, the U.N. Security Council authorized member states to establish KFOR in U.N. Security Council Resolution 1244 of June 10, 1999. The mission of KFOR is to provide an international security presence in order to deter renewed hostilities; verify and, if necessary, enforce the terms of the Military Technical Agreement (MTA) between NATO and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) (which is now the Union of Serbia and Montenegro); enforce the terms of the Undertaking on Demilitarization and Transformation of the former Kosovo Liberation Army; provide day-to-day operational direction to the

Kosovo Protection Corps; and maintain a safe and secure environment to facilitate the work of the U.N. Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK).

Currently, there are 17 NATO nations contributing to KFOR. The U.S. contribution to KFOR in Kosovo is about 2,100 U.S. military personnel, or approximately 11 percent of KFOR's total strength. Additionally, U.S. military personnel occasionally operate from Macedonia, Albania, and Greece in support of KFOR operations. Seventeen non-NATO contributing countries also participate with NATO forces in providing military personnel and other support personnel to KFOR.

The U.S. forces are assigned to a sector principally centered around Gnjilane in the eastern region of Kosovo. For U.S. KFOR forces, as for KFOR generally, maintaining a safe and secure environment remains the primary military task.

The KFOR forces operate under NATO command and control and rules of engagement. The KFOR coordinates with and supports UNMIK at most levels, provides a security presence in towns, villages, and the countryside, and organizes checkpoints and patrols in key areas to provide security, protect minorities, resolve disputes, and help instill in the community a feeling of confidence.

The UNMIK continues to transfer non-reserved competencies under the Constitutional Framework document to the Kosovar Provisional Institutions of Self-Government (PISG). The PISG includes the President, Prime Minister and Kosovo Assembly, and has been in place since March 2002. Municipal elections were successfully held for a second time in October 2002.

NATO continues formally to review KFOR's mission at 6-month intervals. These reviews provide a basis for assessing current force levels, future requirements, force structure, force reductions, and the eventual withdrawal of KFOR. NATO has adopted the Joint Operations Area plan to regionalize and rationalize its force structure in the Balkans. KFOR has transferred full responsibility for public safety and policing to UNMIK international and local police forces throughout Kosovo except in the area of Mitrovica, where the responsibility is shared due to se-

curity concerns. The UNMIK international police and local police forces have also begun to assume responsibility for guarding patrimonial sites and established border-crossing checkpoints.

The continued deployment of U.S. forces has been undertaken pursuant to my constitutional authority to conduct U.S. foreign relations and as Commander in Chief and Chief Executive. I appreciate the continued support of the Congress in these actions.

Sincerely,

George W. Bush

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to J. Dennis Hastert, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Ted Stevens, President pro tempore of the Senate. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

The President's Radio Address

November 15, 2003

Good morning. This week I traveled to Florida to visit with seniors about an important goal for my administration and this Nation. After years of debate and deadlock, the Congress is finishing work on the biggest improvements in senior health care coverage in nearly 40 years.

Some important details of the Medicare legislation have to be worked out, but leaders in both the House and the Senate have already agreed to four clear-cut improvements to Medicare.

First, within 6 months of Medicare reform law, all seniors would be eligible for a Medicare-approved drug discount card. This card would give seniors an immediate 10- to 25-percent savings on the cost of their medicines. For seniors with typical drug costs of \$1,285 a year, the card would deliver annual savings of up to \$300. And for low-income seniors, the discount card would include a \$600 annual credit toward drug costs.

Second, beginning in 2006, we would establish Medicare prescription drug coverage for all seniors who want it, at a monthly premium of about \$35. For most seniors without coverage today, the new coverage would cut their annual drug bills roughly in half.

Third, seniors with the greatest need will get the most help. Low-income seniors would

pay a reduced premium or no premium at all for the new drug coverage. And low-income seniors would also have lower copayments for their medicines.

Fourth, our seniors would enjoy more choices in their health coverage, including the same kind of choices that Members of Congress and other Federal employees enjoy. If seniors have more choices, health plans will compete for their business by offering better coverage at affordable prices.

The choices we support include the choice of remaining in the traditional Medicare program. Some seniors don't want change, and if you're a senior who wants to stay in the current Medicare system, you will have that option. And with that option, you will also be able to get Medicare-approved prescription drug coverage.

Some seniors may choose a new Medicare-approved private plan that includes a drug benefit, along with other options. Such options could include coverage for extended hospital stays or protection against high out-of-pocket medical expenses. Others may prefer managed care plans. Under the approach I support, seniors would have these options as well.

American seniors are calling for these improvements. Among the seniors I met in Florida was Marge MacDonald. Marge and her husband Mac do not have prescription drug coverage, and they are frustrated. Here is what Marge says: "I'm tired of the talk. Sooner or later, somebody needs to do something." Marge is right. The time for delay and deadlock has passed. Now is the time for action.

I ask seniors and all Americans to speak up, to call and write your Representatives and Senators and urge them to work out a final bill. Congress has an historic opportunity to give all our seniors prescription drug coverage, health care choices, and a healthier, more secure retirement. We must make these improvements this year, during this session of Congress. And with your help, we will get the job done.

Thank you for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 10:35 a.m. on November 14 in the Cabinet Room at the White House for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on November 15. The transcript was made available by

the Office of the Press Secretary on November 14 but was embargoed for release until the broadcast. The Office of the Press Secretary also released a Spanish language transcript of this address.

Statement on the Announcement of a Transition Plan by the Iraqi Governing Council

November 15, 2003

I welcome the announcement by the Iraqi Governing Council of a political timetable as called for by the United Nations in U.N. Resolution 1511. This statement is an important step toward realizing the vision of Iraq as a democratic, pluralistic country at peace with its neighbors.

The plan outlined by the Governing Council meets a key mutual objective of the coalition and the Iraqi people: the restoration of sovereignty to a body chosen by the citizens of Iraq and based in a legal framework. It also commits Iraq to a process for drafting a permanent, democratic constitution that protects the rights of all citizens.

The U.S. stands ready to help the Governing Council and all Iraqis translate this new timeline into political reality. The American people are committed to the future of an Iraq that is democratic and prosperous.

Statement on the Terrorist Attacks in Istanbul, Turkey

November 15, 2003

I condemn in the strongest possible terms the terrorist attacks today in Istanbul, where Turkey's diverse religious communities of Muslim, Jewish, and Christian believers have flourished together for centuries. The focus of these attacks on Turkey's Jewish community, in Istanbul's synagogues where men, women, and children gathered to worship God, remind us that our enemy in the war against terror is without conscience or faith. Turkey has suffered terrible losses from terrorism for decades, and the United States stands resolutely with Turkey in the global war on terrorism. On behalf of the American

people, I express our condolences to the families of the victims, to Turkey's Jewish community, and to all the people of the Turkish Republic.

Statement on the Announcement of a Bipartisan Agreement on Medicare Legislation

November 15, 2003

The bipartisan Medicare agreement announced today by leaders in Congress represents a significant achievement in our Nation's efforts to provide affordable prescription drug coverage for our seniors. Seniors have waited a long time for help in paying for prescription drugs, and I am pleased that we are now on the verge of providing them with the help they need and the health care choices they deserve. This bipartisan agreement is the most significant improvement in senior health care coverage in nearly 40 years. I applaud the hard work and the leadership from both sides of the aisle, and I urge the Congress to pass this legislation soon so I can sign it into law.

Remarks on Arrival From Camp David, Maryland, and an Exchange With Reporters

November 16, 2003

The President. Thank you. Today I spent some time in prayer for our service men and women who are in harm's way. I prayed for their families. I prayed for those who are still in harm's way, whether it be American troops or coalition troops.

The sacrifice that our folks are making in Iraq will serve our Nation's interests in the short term and long term. It's best to defeat the terrorists in Iraq so we don't have to defeat them here. As well a free and stable Iraq, in the heart of a part of the world where there is frustration and anger, where the recruiters of hatred are able to find terrorists—a free Iraq will be a transforming event. And I appreciate the families who are making the sacrifices along with our troops.

As well in Iraq, it was a tough week, but we made progress toward a sovereign and

free Iraq. The Iraqi Governing Council has laid out a timetable for the transfer of sovereignty. We're pleased with that timetable. We think it makes sense. On the one hand, the politics is moving on; on the other hand, we're going to stay tough and deal with the terrorists.

I also talked to Prime Minister Erdogan over the weekend, expressed our deep condolences for the senseless death caused by bombings in Turkey. He assured me that he would fight the terrorists and bring the terrorists to justice. I told him we would help, and we're grateful. But it's just a reminder that the war on terror takes place on different fronts.

At home, I am pleased with the progress made on the energy bill and on Medicare. I want to thank the leaders in the House and the Senate for coming together on two important pieces of legislation. On Medicare, it looks like there's agreement in principle to provide our seniors with a modern Medicare plan, and that's very positive news. I urge the Members of the House and the Senate to take a look at it, vote it, and get it to my desk as soon as possible. And I'm pleased that we're finally developing a national energy plan. So we're making good progress on the domestic front here at home.

Let me answer a couple of questions.

Saddam Hussein Audiotape

Q. Can you comment on the latest tape, reportedly from Saddam Hussein, that's being aired now?

The President. I haven't seen the specifics. I suspect it's the same old stuff. You know, it's propaganda. We're not leaving until the job is done, pure and simple. A free and peaceful Iraq will be a historic event. And I'm sure he would like to see us leave, if, in fact, it's his voice. And I know that elements of the Ba'athist Party, those who used to torture, maim, and kill in order to stay in power, would like to see us leave. We will do our job.

Randy [Randall Mikkelsen, Reuters].

Helicopter Crash in Iraq

Q. Mr. President, what information do you have about the chopper crash——

The President. No more than you have, but it's sad. It's a sad day when we lose life. It doesn't matter whether it's in a chopper crash or an IED, the loss of life is sad.

Iraqi Transition Plan

Q. What plans do you have for security after the new transition plan is implemented, after the Iraqi sovereignty is granted? How do you ensure——

The President. Well, it depends on what's taking place on the ground. Somebody told me, they said, "Well, this means there's going to be less troops." Politics is going to go forward. The political process will move on. And we'll adjust our troop level according to the security situation in Iraq.

Yes. Who are you with, first of all? I haven't seen——

Q. Fox News Channel.

The President. Very good. Welcome.

Protests During President's Upcoming Visit to the United Kingdom

Q. Are you concerned at all about the protests that you're going to be facing in London when you go?

The President. No, I'm not concerned at all. I'm glad to be going to a free country where people are allowed to protest. Not the least bit.

Yes, who are you with?

Q. I'm with CNN.

The President. Good.

Iraq

Q. Do you see the use of surface-to-air missiles as an escalation in the conflict in Iraq?

The President. It's symptomatic of the fact that there was a lot of weapons lying around. And we've just got to bring these killers to justice, which we will. The military is adjusting. You've been reading about the fact that they're adjusting their strategy and their plans. That's exactly what the Commander in Chief expects, flexibility on the ground to change response to a change of tactics with the enemy.

Hillman [G. Robert Hillman, Dallas Morning News].

President's Upcoming Visit to the United Kingdom

Q. Yes, are you concerned at all with your visit to London, that it comes at a kind of uncomfortable time in some respects for Prime Minister Blair——

The President. No, I'm not concerned about my trip to London. I'm really looking forward to it. It's the second "are you concerned" question about my trip to England. I'm really looking forward to it. It's going to be a fantastic experience. I know you—do you have something else on the "concerned" question there? I cut you off. I beg your pardon.

Q. No, there have just been, you know, immense speculation that this is coming at an awkward political time for you and the Prime Minister, for that matter.

The President. Awkward political time for me?

Q. [Inaudible]—the situation in Iraq.

The President. No, I'm looking forward to the trip. I'm honored to have been invited. I look forward to my consultations with Tony Blair. We visit all the time via telephone or via secure video link. I'm looking forward to sitting down with him in person. It's going to be a great trip.

I guess—everywhere—every time I go somewhere, there is immense speculation. I'm not suggesting you're the speculators, but I remember before I went to the Far East, there was some speculation about this and speculation about that. No, I'm looking forward to it. It's going to be a great trip.

Yes, sir.

Steel Tariffs

Q. Mr. President, are you any closer to a decision on steel?

The President. Than I was Friday?

Q. Yes.

The President. Well, if there is a date at which I'm going to make it, I guess I'm 2 days closer. But no, I'm thinking about it. I've got some considerations. People are presenting reports to me, which I will look at, and let you know at the appropriate time, when I make up my mind.

Yes, sir. Who——

Q. NBC News.

The President. Very good.

Medicare Reform Legislation

Q. Okay, thank you. Mr. President, what do you think the chances are of getting the Medicare bill passed?

The President. The what, Medicare? You know, that's a good question. I think it's good. I think—I'm pleased we've come this far. And I think there's going to be immense pressure on Members of both the House and the Senate to support this bill. It is a good piece of legislation. It is a complex piece of legislation. After all, we're changing a Medicare system that has been stuck in the past for a long period of time.

I'm beginning to get a sense of the supporters for this piece of legislation. And there's some mighty active groups of people who are interested in good health care for our seniors that are getting mobilized, and so I think we've got a good chance of passing it. I know I will be actively pushing the bill, because it conforms to the principles I laid out of prescription drugs for our seniors, choice for seniors, accountability for the Medicare plan. There's a lot of good features in this bill. I look forward to working to see its passage.

Listen, you all have a wonderful Sunday. Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:51 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan of Turkey; former President Saddam Hussein of Iraq; and Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom.

Interview With Sir David Frost of BBC Television

November 12, 2003

President's Upcoming Visit to the United Kingdom

Q. Mr. President, a lot of people say this might be your first trip to London, but it's not.

The President. No, it's not. I've been there a couple of times. I remember, Laura and I went to see "Cats" in London. Gosh, I remember going to some nice pubs when I was a drinking man in London. It's a great city, and I'm looking forward to going.

Q. We're looking forward to seeing you there, too. In fact, of course, you're famous for the fact that normally social—dressing up socially is not your favorite thing, and you once said that marvelous quote, "Read my lips: No new tuxes."

The President. That's right. [Laughter]

Q. Are you going to take a new tux this time?

The President. I'm going to take a tux, and I'm going to take tails. And don't tell anybody, but I had to rent them. [Laughter] I'm sure you won't tell anybody.

Q. This is entirely between us.

The President. I'm looking forward to—it's a huge honor to be invited by Her Majesty to stay in Buckingham Palace. It's hard to imagine me even considering staying in Buckingham Palace when I was living in Midland, Texas. It's just one of those things. And Buckingham Palace has got a tremendous mystique to it, and so Laura and I are really looking forward to coming.

President's Agenda in the United Kingdom

Q. And you pinch yourself about those things too. What would you like to see come out of this trip in terms of—in addition to the fun part?

The President. Well, I've got some business to do with Tony Blair. We've got a lot of things to discuss. We're going to talk about how to continue to spread freedom and peace. We'll talk about how to work the compassion agenda on the AIDS Initiative, for example. We're going to spend some time talking about that.

I value his advice, and I—every time I visit with him, whether it be on the phone or on video or in person, I come away with a—some interesting ideas about how to advance a positive agenda.

Secondly, I look forward to speaking to the people of your great country. I'm going to have a chance to give a speech to talk about the importance of our relationship, the unique relationship between America and Great Britain. And I'll have a chance to answer some questions, I'm sure, from what we call the Fourth Estate here, the mighty media. I look forward to it.

Protests/War on Terror

Q. And Tony Blair on Monday night—and he would probably have told you—is expecting there to be quite a lot of protesters about the war. What would be your message to those protesters?

The President. Well, freedom is a beautiful thing, I would first say, and aren't you lucky to be in a country that encourages people to speak their mind. And I value going to a country where people are free to say anything they want to say. Secondly, I would say that I understand you don't like war, and neither do I. But I would hope you understand that I have learned the lessons of September the 11th, 2001, and that terrorists declared war on the United States of America and war on people that love freedom, and I intend to lead our Nation, along with others like our close friends in Great Britain, to win this war on terror, that war is my last choice, not my first choice, but I have an obligation as the President to keep our country secure.

Blair-Bush Relationship

Q. And at the same time, you'll be working with Tony Blair, and what is the key to your working together so well? I mean, it's like you have a special relationship. Is partially the bond, the bond that you're both men of strong faith?

The President. I think so. Tony is a man of strong faith. You know, the key to my relationship with Tony is he tells the truth, and he tells you what he thinks, and when he says he's going to do something, he's going to do it. I trust him, therefore. I've seen him, under some tough—tough circumstances, stand strong, and I appreciate that in a person.

The other thing I admire about Tony Blair is that he's got a vision beyond the current. In other words, he can see a world that is peaceful, and he agrees with me that the spread of democracy and freedom in parts of the world where there's violence and hatred will help change the world, that there are reformers in the Middle East that long for democracy, that long to live in a free world. And Tony Blair, like me, agrees—kind of rejects the elitist point of view that only a certain type of person can adapt the habits of freedom and democracy. And he knows

that freedom in the Middle East will help change that world in dramatic fashion. So it's an historic moment which he has been willing to seize, and I'm honored to be working with him to seize the moment.

Public Opinion/Lessons of September 11

Q. And in terms of as you look at the world, Mr. President, at the moment and you see the protesters in Australia or wherever they are and you see that poll that came out, an EU poll the other day that shows that the United States was second among the most dangerous countries in terms of war in the world—level, for God's sake, with North Korea and Iran—when you see things like that, do you think the world is out of step with America, or America is out of step with the world?

The President. Well, first of all, you've got to know, I don't pay attention to the polls. I just don't. I've got a job to do for the American people. It's a job that was changed on September the 11th, 2001, and I refuse to—I refuse to forget—I'll never forget the lessons, is a better way to put it, of what happened to this country. And there are terrorists who are willing to kill innocent life in order to create fear and chaos. There are terrorists who want the free world to retreat from duties so that they can impose Taliban-type governments and enslave people. There are people like Saddam Hussein, who tortured and maimed and killed and, at the same time, threatened and created the conditions of instability. And I know some people don't understand the need to deal with that, but I feel firmly we must deal with those issues.

Q. But do you need to woo people more in the rest of the world?

The President. We wooed—we did a pretty good job of wooing them at the United Nations. After all, remember, 1441 was a unanimous vote that said, after a decade of sending messages to Mr. Saddam Hussein for him to disarm, 1441 said, "Disarm or there will be serious consequences." And that was a unanimous vote. In other words, the world, at least the Security Council, came together and sent a clear signal. Obviously, there was

a disagreement about the definition of "serious consequence." But I can assure you, "serious consequence" isn't more resolutions or more debate. "Serious consequence" was with dealing with Mr. Saddam Hussein today, before it became too late.

And I understand people don't agree with that position. But nevertheless, I'm convinced that the decisions we made—and there's a lot of countries that made that decision with us—that decision will make the world more peaceful and more free. That decision is in the long-term interests of people who love freedom.

France and Germany

Q. And will you ever be able to forgive Jacques Chirac and Chancellor Schroeder for their actions of that time in undermining the second resolution?

The President. Of course. It's like, I can understand why people express their disagreement with the policy. I understand not everybody is going to agree with every decision that I make or others make. But I've had meetings with Gerhard Schröder and Jacques Chirac since then. They've been very cordial meetings. Gerhard Schröder has now committed German troops to Afghanistan, which is a very important mission, to help stabilize that good country as it not only enacts a constitution but heads toward elections. And I appreciate the contribution of the German Government toward Afghanistan. I'm proud to say that it is a vital contribution, and I appreciate their willingness to work with us.

Again, we're not going to agree on every issue, but a Europe which works closely with America and an America which works closely with Europe means the world will be better off.

EU-U.S. Relations

Q. The difference really is, between Tony Blair and them, is that Tony Blair sees Europe as a partner of the United States, and they perhaps see Europe as a rival of the United States.

The President. I don't think Germany sees that, for starters. In my conversations with Gerhard Schröder, they never yielded that impression. I think Germany under-

stands it's important for the bilateral relationship between America and Germany to be strong. It's in our economic interests that it's strong. It's in the interest of peace that it be strong.

I understand there was kind of this notion of multipolarity, which means that somehow the values of America need to be offset. But we're for peace; we're for freedom. This country is leading the world when it comes to fighting AIDS. And I can assure you, having studied this issue a lot, and I understand the pandemic of AIDS on the continent of Africa, we'll be better off—the people of Africa will be better off if Europe and the United States work together to fight the pandemic of AIDS. My only point is, there's a lot we can do working together.

European Defense Force

Q. And what about the—I gather that you have some misgivings about the proposed European army, the danger that it might be a threat to NATO.

The President. Yes, here's the thing, first of all, I believe that the European defense force ought to take on more responsibility on those missions which NATO turns down. I think it's good for the United States' interests. I think it's good for NATO's interests, so long as the defense force doesn't undermine the vitality of NATO. And Tony Blair tells me that the discussions he's having with other European countries will in no way undermine NATO, and I take his word for it. He's been a man who's been true to his word on a lot of issues, and I believe he'll be true to his word on this issue.

Iraqi Weapons of Mass Destruction

Q. Tell me about—in terms of Iraq, tell me about weapons of mass destruction. The fact that we didn't find them, and so on, has been much discussed. But do you think that you were the victim of a failure of intelligence in a way?

The President. Not at all.

Q. No?

The President. No, not at all. I think our intelligence was sound. I know the British intelligence was sound. It's the same intelligence that caused the United Nations to

pass resolution after resolution after resolution. It's the same intelligence that was used by my predecessor to bomb Iraq. I'm very confident we got good intelligence. And not only that, Mr. David Kay, who went over to kind of lead the effort to find the weapons or the intent of weapons, came back with a report that clearly stated that Mr. Saddam Hussein would—had been in material breach of Resolution 1441. In other words, had the inspectors found what Kay found, they would have reported back to the United Nations that he was in breach, that he was in violation of exactly what the United Nations expected him not to do.

We'll find the truth. But this guy for many years had been hiding weapons, deceiving weapons. He had dual-use programs that could have been sped up. Nobody could say that Saddam Hussein wasn't a danger. Not only was he a danger to the free world—and that's what the world said; the world said it consistently—he was a danger to his own people as well. Remember, we discovered mass graves with hundreds of thousands of men and women and children clutching their little toys, as a result of this person's brutality.

Go ahead. Sorry.

Q. But in terms of—did you feel, in terms of if there wasn't a failure of intelligence, that there was a sort of exaggeration in what was predicted? I mean, did you ever believe that stuff, for instance? Did you ever believe that stuff about him having weapons of mass destruction that could be unleashed in 45 minutes, or did you never really believe that?

The President. I believe he was a dangerous man.

Q. But you didn't believe that.

The President. Well, I believed a lot of things. But I know he was a dangerous man. And I know that for the sake of security, he needed to be dealt with. After all—again I repeat this because it's a very important point that people in your country must remember, and that is, the world had spoken, universally spoken, about this man's danger for 12 long years. And in order for—at the very minimum, in order for a multinational organization to be valid and effective, something has to happen other than resolutions. And when an organization says, "If you don't disarm"—in other words, in order to say, "They don't

disarm," intelligence convinced a lot of nations, including France, that he had weapons. In other words, he had to disarm something. "Dismantle your programs. If you don't do that, there will be a serious consequence."

And the fundamental question is, what is a "serious consequence"? It's not another resolution. It's not more empty debate. A "serious consequence," in this case, was removing Saddam Hussein so that his weapons programs would not be activated. And David Kay found evidence of weapons programs. He found some biological weapons—evidence of biological weapons. And it doesn't take much time—

Q. But we really need the big discovery, don't we?

The President. Well, that's pretty big, what I just told you. Now remember, for a long period of time, it was assumed that he didn't have a nuclear weapons program. And yet, after 1991, the world had to—changed its attitude about this man's nuclear weapons program and admitted that it was very advanced. A nuclear weapon in the hands of somebody like Saddam Hussein, particularly given the lessons of September the 11th, 2001, would be a horrendous development. And we had to deal with him. And we did—in a way, by the way, that was a compassionate way. We spared innocent life. We targeted the guilty, and we moved hard and fast. And very little of Iraq was touched in toppling Saddam Hussein.

Planning for Iraq After Combat Operations

Q. Did we, in fact—people have said, Mr. President, as you know, that the same meticulous planning that went into winning the war didn't go into winning the peace, and we were a bit unprepared for some of the surprises, the unpleasant surprises, you know, the terrorists and all of that that came along. Is that a fair comment?

The President. No—[laughter]—it's not a fair comment. We look at all contingencies and are dealing with the contingencies. Look, let me—if I could step back and maybe think out loud here about some of the stories or some of the speculation that was going on before we went into Iraq: One, the oil revenues would be blown up; the oil fields would

be destroyed. They weren't. As a matter of fact, oil production is up to 2.1 million or 2.2 million barrels a day, to the benefit of the Iraqi people. That's a very important point.

Remember, there was speculation about sectarian violence, that the long-suppressed Kurds or Shia may take out their anxieties and their frustrations on the Sunnis. That didn't happen. There was talk about mass starvation; it didn't happen. Refugee flows that would be unmanageable—that never happened. And so a lot of the contingency that we had planned for didn't happen. What has happened is that in a relatively small part of the country, there are Ba'athist——

Q. You call it now the Ba'athist Triangle. **The President.** ——Sunni Triangle, they are attacking. And they're attacking not only coalition forces; they're attacking innocent Iraqis, because what they're trying to do is stop the spread of progress.

Q. It's almost a guerrilla war there, really. **The President.** Well, I would call it a desperate attempt by people who were totally in control of government, through tyrannical means, to regain power. This is nothing more than a power grab.

Now, there are some foreign fighters, mujahideen types or Al Qaida or Al Qaida affiliates involved as well. They've got a different mission. They want to install a Taliban-type Government in Iraq, or they want to seek revenge for getting whipped in Afghanistan. But nevertheless, they all have now found common ground for a brief period of time. And what we will do is, we will use Iraqi intelligence; we will use Iraqi security forces—we're up to about 118,000 Iraqi folks in one type of uniform or another securing the country—to be an integral part of chasing these killers down and to bring them to justice before they kill innocent life.

Q. But it must have taken us a bit by surprise, or otherwise we'd have prepared for it, the level of this—the combination of the, what, 700, perhaps, foreign terrorists who came into Iraq, and so on. That was——

The President. I don't think so. I think a lot the people who came in initially wish they hadn't come in initially, or they're not wishing at all right now. But no, we understood it was going to be tough. We've been

there for 7 months, David, which seems like a long time, particularly giving the news cycles the way they are. I'm certainly not complaining about the news cycles, but nevertheless, there's a certain sense of impatience that has now crept into the world. And my job is to enable our operators and military to make adjustments necessary to succeed. We've got the same strategy, which is a peaceful Iraq. The tactics shift, depending upon the decisions of the enemy. We're making progress.

That's not to say it's not tough. Of course, it's tough. What they want to do is, they want to shake the will of the free world. And the good news about having a partner like Tony Blair is, he won't be shaken. And neither will I, and neither will Jose Maria Aznar. I heard Berlusconi stand up with a strong statement after the Italian police had been murdered. And we, of course, send our sympathies and prayers to the Italian people. But Berlusconi said, "They're not going to run us out."

And that's what these terrorists need to hear. And more importantly, or as importantly, the Iraqi citizens need to hear that. They need to know that we won't leave the country prematurely. They need to know two things: We're not going to cut and run; and two, we believe they have the capacity to run their own country.

Timetable for Iraq

Q. The cut-and-run thing, obviously, is absolutely vital. And you've said you're not going to cut and run. You'll be there as long as it takes. Tony Blair, in his speech on Monday night, said, "We're not going to retreat one inch." I mean, we're there for how long it takes to produce a successful Iraqi democracy, are we?

The President. Yes, absolutely.

Q. Whether that's years and years or what?

The President. Well, we don't think it will be years and years, because, first of all, we think the Iraqi people are plenty capable of running their own country, and we think they want to run their own country. And just today I had discussions with Jerry Bremer, our Ambassador in Baghdad, who flew back to discuss ways——

Q. Oh, yes——

The President. Well, just to discuss ways to do—to assure the Iraqi people that we have confidence in their capability. See, some in the world, some in the world don't believe that Iraq can run itself. They believe that, "Might as well let them have a military dictatorship or a tyrant. That's the only way they can be governed."

I disagree, and Tony Blair disagrees with that. We believe that democracy will take hold in Iraq, and we believe a free and democratic Iraq will help change the Middle East. There are hundreds of reformers that are desperate for freedom. Freedom—freedom is not America's gift to the world or Great Britain's gift to the world. Freedom is the Almighty's gift to everybody who lives in the world.

Role of Saddam Hussein

Q. Is there any likelihood that Saddam himself could be behind this violence?

The President. Saddam Hussein is a violent man. Listen, he tortured and maimed and killed. He had rape rooms, and people disappeared because they spoke out against him. We've discovered mass graves. He's a brutal, brutal tyrant—brutal tyrant. We did the Iraqi people a great favor by removing him. So I wouldn't be surprised that any kind of violence is promoted by him, but I don't know. I don't know. All I know is, we're after him.

Role of World Opinion in Regime Change

Q. That's one of the interesting things. I mean, nobody has time for a moment for Saddam Hussein. Some people are worried in England and around the world by the idea of regime change, because they say, "Once we've done regime change, Britain and America with Saddam Hussein, what can we say if India wants to do regime change with Pakistan, or Pakistan wants to do regime change with India?"

The President. Well, see, I can understand their concerns, except they forgot the history. This issue has been discussed in the United Nations for over a decade. And the United Nations, as a multilateral international body, passed resolution after resolution after resolution calling for Saddam Hussein to disarm. In other words, the diplomatic

process went forward. There was plenty of diplomacy. And to the critics, I would say that there will be diplomacy when it comes to India and Pakistan. The world will speak out clearly.

The problem is, is that when the world speaks out clearly and then nothing happens, all we've got is empty words. It's tyrants that take advantage of that. Tyrants—if tyrants don't fear—feel like they can torture and kill with impunity, feel like they can blackmail the world, and all the world does is put out empty words, it makes multilateralism extremely ineffective.

If I could take a second to remind your viewers that, obviously, not every situation needs to be solved militarily. Military option is the last option, as far as I'm concerned. And I would refer people to North Korea, where we've got a multilateral attempt to convince Kim Chong-il to get rid of his nuclear ambitions. We understand, just like Saddam Hussein, that he has been torturous to his people—people in North Korea are starving to death—and that weapons of mass destruction in his hands given his history, just like weapons of mass destruction in Saddam's hands given his history, is a very dangerous element. It's a dangerous—it inhibits the capacity for peace and freedom to spread.

But what I've done is, I've convinced China and South Korea and Japan and Russia to speak with one voice to the North Koreans, and say, "Get rid of your nuclear ambitions." We're also, at the same time, working on a counterproliferation regime that will stop his ability to ship weapons of mass destruction or a nuclear warhead to a terrorist group. In other words, we're working together in a multilateral, multinational fashion to bring peace and stability to the world.

War on Terror

Q. Someone who knows how passionate you are about this war on terror and Iraq and so on said, "I know George Bush, and I think, in terms of his legacy, he'd rather—I'll tell you how strongly he feels. He said he'd rather be defeated by the voters than by the terrorists." Is that true?

The President. I'd rather not be defeated by either. [Laughter] And we will not be defeated by the terrorists. I say that confidently,

because the allies in the war on terror are strong and steadfast, and there's no stronger and steadfast ally in the war on terror than Tony Blair. He understands the stakes. He knows that freedom is being challenged. He understands as well that the spread of freedom and democracy, in the long run, will defeat terror. And that's why the battle—the stakes are so high in Iraq right now. By the way, Iraq is a front in the war on terror. And it's important for people to understand that, because the war takes place elsewhere.

Reform of the Palestinian Authority

Q. And in—one of the reasons that people say, in the Arab world—obviously there was your landmark speech last week—but in the Arab world, that you won't really be able to address the balance against America until the United States is seen not to tilt towards Israel in the Middle East. What do you think about that?

The President. I think about that: I think it's an excuse, because America—I am the first President ever to go to the United Nations—

Q. And say, two—

The President. Two states side by side in peace.

Q. —two states.

The President. No President has ever said that. And I said it, and I said it with conviction, because I believe it is in Israel's interest that there be a peaceful Palestinian state, and I know it's in the Palestinians' interest. However, to achieve a peaceful Palestinian state, the emergence of a peaceful Palestinian state, a state where people are willing to risk capital, a place where people are willing to develop an economy, there must be a focused effort to defeat terror. And there hasn't been with the current Palestinian leadership.

I went in and embraced, in Aqaba, Jordan, Abu Mazen. And the reason I did so, David, is because he came to the Oval Office and he said, "I will join you in the fight against terror. We're not going to allow the few to destroy the hopes of the many." As well, I could sense in his talk, in his feeling, that he has—he's got great trust in the Palestinian people. In other words, given the chance, the Palestinian people will develop the habits of democracy, and out of that will come a great

state, a peaceful state. And I trusted him, and we were working with him. We were making good progress. And I was working with Ariel Sharon. I gave a speech on June 24th, 2002, which says, "All of us have responsibilities, and you, Israel, have a responsibility."

Prime Minister Ariel Sharon of Israel

Q. Do you think Ariel Sharon could ever emerge as a man of peace?

The President. Yes, I do. I believe he wants peace for his people. I truly do. I mean, he's a man who has presided over suicides, where he has to go to the funerals of women and children because some cold-blooded killer is trying to destroy the hopes of all the people in the region. And it's—yes, I believe so. And I believe he believes in a Palestinian state. I've asked him in the Oval Office, I said, "Listen, am I out there by myself on a Palestinian state, or will you support it?" He said he will. But both of us understand, as do a lot of other people, that for a state to emerge, there must be a focused effort to get after the Hamas killers, for example, who want to destroy the hopes of the people that believe in a Palestinian state. And there hasn't been that effort.

Anyway, let me finish my Abu Mazen story, if you don't mind. I embraced the guy, and I believe that he is a—I believe he's a partner with whom we can work, and he's shoved out. Progress is being made, and he is shoved aside by the old guard. And that's unacceptable behavior. It's just unacceptable.

British Detainees at Guantanamo Bay

Q. Guantanamo. You're going to get asked about, obviously, in England, what's going to happen to our British detainees. Tony Blair was talking about it in the House of Commons this week and saying, hopefully they'd be tried before a proper court or repatriated to be tried in the U.K. Will you have any good news for us on that? For him on that?

The President. You mean right here, sitting right here, me and you, talking—the good news is, one, they'll be treated fairly, like they are. And two, I'm working closely with Tony to come up with a solution that he's comfortable with. And I emphasize, a

solution that he's comfortable with. These prisoners are being treated—these were illegal non-combatants picked up off of a battlefield. And they're being well-treated, and they will go through a military tribunal at some point in time, which is—a military tribunal, which is in international accord—or in line with international accords.

Q. As we approach the end of this interview, Mr. President—I could carry on for hours, actually, but I know you've got a lot to do, more than the rest of us. As we approach the end of this interview, what would you say is the most important lesson you've learned in life in the Presidency?

The President. The most important lesson in life in the Presidency is to have a clear vision of where you want to lead, and lead. I've got a clear vision: It's a world that is more free and therefore more peaceful; a world based upon human rights, human dignity, and justice; a world that does not discriminate between one group of people or—a vision that does not discriminate between one group of people or another, because I believe all people have the desire to be free. And I'm willing to lead there.

And the people of this country will make their—you asked about politics—they'll make the decision as to whether or not they—I've have been honest with them and open with them and whether or not they like my leadership style. A lot of it will have to do with the economy, of course, whether I get another 4 years. But I think it's important to know where you want to lead, and lead.

Bush Team for a Second Term

Q. Would you hope to present to the country the same team, Dick Cheney and Donald Rumsfeld and Colin Powell and Condi Rice, for the second term?

The President. It's been a fabulous team, and Cheney for certain. And I haven't—obviously, I'm not going to talk to my Cabinet ministers until after the election. But I'm proud of this team. I put together one of the finest teams, one of the finest administrations any President has ever assembled. These are good, honest, decent, hard-working, experienced people who give me good, unvarnished advice and, when I make

a decision, say, "Yes, sir, Mr. President, we'll go execute it."

Q. Well, thank you for your decision to do this interview.

The President. Thank you, sir. I enjoyed seeing you.

NOTE: The interview was taped at 3:08 p.m. in the Map Room at the White House for later broadcast on BBC One's "Breakfast With Frost." The transcript was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 17. In his remarks, the President referred to Queen Elizabeth II and Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom; former President Saddam Hussein of Iraq; Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder of Germany; President Jacques Chirac of France; former President William J. Clinton; David Kay, CIA Special Advisor for Strategy Regarding Iraqi Weapons of Mass Destruction Programs; President Jose Maria Aznar of Spain; Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi of Italy; L. Paul Bremer III, Presidential Envoy to Iraq; President Kim Chong-il of North Korea; and former Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) of the Palestinian Authority. Portions of this interview could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

Interview With Trevor Kavanagh of The Sun

November 17, 2003

The Oval Office

The President. Have you ever been in the Oval Office before?

Mr. Kavanagh. Once, just once.

The President. Okay. The rug was designed by my wife. Every President gets to design his own rug. You probably didn't know that.

Mr. Kavanagh. Fabulous.

The President. I wanted mine—mine was designed by my wife, Laura. And I wanted people to have a sense of optimism when they came in here, that this is a guy who kind of sees a better world, not a worse world. Sometimes the Oval can be foreboding, and I wanted it to be cheery. So I hope you felt that.

This is called "A Charge To Keep." It's based upon a Methodist hymn. One of America's great imports from England was John Wesley. And it talks about serving something greater than yourself, which speaks to my

own personal faith. As a President, it speaks to my need to capture the spirit of America and call on people to serve. You've probably followed some of my domestic policy, but one of the things that's important is to call on people to serve their communities by helping neighbors who hurt. The de Tocquevillean view of America at that point was just kind of a civic fabric of loving organizations; part of my vision, as well, is to energize them.

The painting's of Texas. That's kind of what my ranch looks like, by a guy named Onderdonk. He's a Texas landscape artist. The bluebonnets are not quite that big. Blair and I—well, he's been there, and he would recognize kind of the look, if he were here. This is west Texas, where my wife's family was raised. We were both raised in west Texas, but this is farther west than where I was raised. It's called El Paso. But it's a famous Texas artist and historian who painted that.

More Texas. The reason I have Texas up there is it's where I'm from. And in this job if you can't figure out who you are—you better know who you are because of the pressures and the decisionmaking process and all the noise of politics and all that.

Really quickly, this is a desk given to us by Queen Victoria. A famous desk called the U.S.S. *Resolute*, and it's wood from the *Resolute*. The door was put on by Roosevelt to cover his infirmities. Out of the door poked John Kennedy's son—

Mr. Kavanagh. Oh, yes, I remember.

The President. I chose to use this. Ronald Reagan put the bottom on to make the desk high so it won't bump your knees. I love the desk. I love its history. It does speak to the great relationship between America and Great Britain; I'm sitting at a desk given to our country by Queen Victoria.

And finally, the Churchill bust is on loan from the Brits. Tony Blair knew I was a great admirer of Churchill, so here he sits, along with Lincoln and Eisenhower.

That's it. Welcome.

Mr. Kavanagh. Fantastic. Thank you very much, Mr. President. Where would you like me?

The President. Sit right here. Take Vice President Cheney's seat.

Mr. Kavanagh. I'm more than a little impressed by being here and by sitting in this seat.

The President. Well, you know, this is a shrine to democracy, and we treat it as such. And it's an honor to serve here.

Mr. Kavanagh. Well, I would like to thank you on behalf of our readers for giving them and me the time to talk to you.

The President. Well, I'm glad you're here, thanks.

World After Afghanistan and Iraq

Mr. Kavanagh. We're a very pro-American newspaper, and our readers were shocked and deeply moved by September the 11th. And they supported what happened subsequently in Afghanistan and a little more reluctantly in Iraq, but in fact, the majority of our readers were behind the action.

I think what they would like to know—we've talked with them in a way which is quite interesting. We actually spent a weekend with about 2,000 of our readers.

The President. Really? [Laughter] Good marketing tool. [Laughter] That's interesting.

Mr. Kavanagh. Yes. And the one question they wanted to ask you is, is the world a safer place after the conflict than it was before?

The President. Yes, much safer. It's safer for a couple of reasons. One, the free world has recognized the threat. In order to make the world safe, you've got to actually see reality. And the reality is that there are cold-blooded killers who were trying to intimidate, create fear, create hostility, and to shape the will of the civilized world.

And a lot of countries have seen the threat for what it is. So, therefore, step one is recognizing the problem. Tony Blair recognizes the problem. Jose Maria Aznar recognizes the problem. Silvio Berlusconi recognizes the problem. Clearly, the United States recognizes the problem. After all, the clearest indication that we were at war and that the stakes had changed dramatically was September the 11th. After all, we were a country which was able to sit back in our—kind of in our geographical posture and pick and choose where a threat might emerge and say we may have to deal with that or we may not deal with it. We were pretty confident that we were protected ourselves by oceans. That changed.

And one of my vows to the American people is I won't forget the lessons of September the 11th, 2001.

Secondly, the world is safer because the actions we have taken will ultimately strengthen multinational institutions. Take the theater in Iraq. The United Nations had recognized that Saddam Hussein was a threat. They recognized it in not one resolution but multiple resolutions and yet didn't do anything about it. And therefore, the resolutions became weak, became just words.

And as a result of enforcing 1441, which said that you disarm or there will be serious consequences, now when multinational institutions speak, hopefully people will take them seriously. And in order to win the war on terror, there needs to be alliance and co-operation because these are killers that are capable of hiding in societies. They're patient. They're lethal. They pop up and will destroy. And by the way, they don't care who they destroy. There are no rules for these people. They will kill children just as soon as they'll kill somebody in a military uniform.

Thirdly, the world is safer because there is a—and by the way, multinational forum doesn't necessarily mean U.N. It can also mean collaborations, like the collaboration that's now taking place with North Korea in dealing with Kim Chong-il, who is a threat to peace. And now it's not just the United States dealing with Kim Chong-il; it's the United States, China, South Korea, Japan, and Russia in a collaborative effort. Or the fine work—the initial fine work done by the foreign ministers of Great Britain, France, and Germany in telling Iran to get rid of its nuclear ambitions. I say “initial fine work” because the Iranians, in the past, have had clandestine operations. And therefore, in order to make sure that the words that have been issued to them are true, there must be transparency.

Fourthly, we dealt Al Qaida. We are tough on Al Qaida. Now, you know, there are key figures still looming in caves and remote regions of the world, but we're dismantling them. If you were to look at Al Qaida as a business organization, middle management is no longer. That's not to say that they're not grooming junior executives to take over certain roles. But we're tough, and we're on

their trail, and we're still hunting them down. Make no mistake about it. And as a result of dismantling Al Qaida, the world is safer.

We've also dealt with the tyrants in Afghanistan, which is an incredibly dangerous regime, dangerous not only to the free world because they provided housing, training, money, safe haven, but also they were just tortuous and barbaric to their own people. And in Iraq, Saddam Hussein was clearly a threat to peace. And we can argue about the definition of “serious consequence,” and I respect the debate, but no one can justify this man's behavior to his people. We've discovered mass graves with over 300,000 people there, rape rooms, and torture rooms. He is paying suiciders to go kill innocent Israelis. He had a weapons program as discovered—I promise you this is going to be a short answer, eventually. I saw you looking at the clock; your glance can't escape me. [*Laughter*]

This is an important question. It is the question.

Mr. Kavanagh. Of course, absolutely.

The President. David Kay discovered a weapons program that was in material breach of 1441. In other words, it was in violation of precisely what the United Nations had asked him not to do. Saddam Hussein, in 1991, it was assumed that he—his nuclear weapons program would be active in the out-years, and in fact, the inspectors discovered he's got nuclear ambitions, not only real and active but his program was a lot farther along than we thought. And had he ever developed a nuclear weapon, had he been allowed to have a nuclear weapon, he would have been the ultimate source of international blackmail.

And so the removal of Saddam Hussein makes the world safer. And as importantly, the removal of Saddam Hussein gives the Iraqis a chance to live in freedom, which is the ultimate—freedom is the ultimate route to security. I strongly believe that free nations are peaceful nations. Free nations are not terrorist havens, do not become terrorist havens. Free nations won't create conditions of strife and resentment that breeds anxiety and terror.

And therefore, the world is becoming safer, is safer, and will be even more safe

when Iraq becomes free. And Iraq will be free, and it'll be peaceful. And we need peace and freedom in that part of the world.

Now, there's an interesting debate going on as to whether or not people like the Iraqis will ever adapt the habits of freedom. There's kind of an elitism that takes place in our country, in your country, and elsewhere, feels, well, "Certain people can't be free. They can't adapt the habits of democracy." I strongly disagree. I strongly disagree.

And so, yes, the world is safer, and the world is more peaceful.

Future U.S. Activity in Iraq

Mr. Kavanagh. Okay. That answer will resonate with our readers. Nonetheless, there is concern about the events, particularly in the last week or so, when things have escalated. I think this causes concern everywhere. Are we going to increase military presence there? Are we going to pull out? There's a fear that—

The President. You don't have to worry about us pulling out.

Mr. Kavanagh. There's a famous T-shirt slogan which shows the American flag and the words, "These colors don't run." Do you stand by that?

The President. Yes, absolutely. Absolutely. Our will is being tested. See, the tactics of the terrorists is to kill as many innocent people as possible and, therefore, try to shape the will of the Iraqis. As progress is made—and we're making interesting progress, and I'll cite some examples in a minute that I think are fascinating. But as the Iraqis begin to say, "Wait a minute. Life can be better," and their instincts kick in about what it means to live in a free society, the terrorists want to shake that. They want to scare them. They want the police not to become police. And we've got over 118,000 people now, Iraqi citizens, in uniform beginning to conduct operations for their own security.

They, of course, want to kill our own soldiers and, therefore, try to shake the will of the American people and the President and the command structure. They killed those Italians. And they were hoping that Berlusconi would say, "Oh, my goodness, this is too big a fight. We'll leave." We're not leav-

ing. We're staying there to get the job done. Of course we mourn the death of any citizen. But I recognize that it is—I still remember the death, what happened to us on September the 11th as well. I was there at Ground Zero right after the attacks, and I remember this kind of haze and the smells and the death and destruction. I'll always remember that, of course. And as I've told you, I vowed not to forget the lessons.

Mr. Kavanagh. That changed everything?

The President. Absolutely. Look, what changed for me was sitting on Air Force One and getting the reports that we were under attack. And I made up my mind then, right then, that we didn't need a bunch of legal briefs. I didn't need a bunch of—you know, let's kind of hold hands and hope to get the right answer. We were at war, and we were going to win the war. And I still feel that same exact determination today that I did then.

Mr. Kavanagh. So you'll stay in Iraq even—

The President. We will do our job.

Mr. Kavanagh. —after there's an interim council, a Government which is—

The President. Yes. There's a lot of talk right now about the political process, as there should be. And we are interested in the Iraqis assuming more responsibility on the political side and on the security side. And a political process in which the Iraqis assume more responsibility will make the security side come together quicker as well in our judgment.

And therefore, Bremer came here, he took instructions back from me to talk to the Governing Council to find out what is feasible when it comes to the passing of more power to the Governing Council. That's where we are right there.

On the security side, absolutely we're there. The goal is for Iraq to be peaceful and free. I understand the consequences of a free and peaceful Iraq in the midst of the Middle East. We can have the debate all day long as to whether the Middle East will ever adapt the habits of democracy and freedom. I think they will, obviously, and I'm confident they will. I like to tell people in this country, freedom is not America's gift to the world; freedom is not Great Britain's gift to the

world; freedom is the Almighty's gift to everybody in the world.

Freedom for Iraq

Mr. Kavanagh. And this is what you'll tell the demonstrators? Or this is what you would tell the demonstrators if you had 5 minutes with them?

The President. Of course I would, absolutely. I will say, "You may disagree with our tactics. Nobody likes war. War is my last choice." If the demonstrators are there as anti-war protestors, they may be there for other reasons as well—global trade—and I'd be glad to talk to them about that as well. But in terms of war, I can understand why people are anxious about war. I can understand why citizens in Great Britain, protestor or not, wonders about why a President would commit to war, because nobody likes war.

On the other hand, I would tell them, the skeptics and the critics, that I have a job to protect the security of the United States of America and that Saddam Hussein was a security risk, as witnessed by the international community speaking loudly on that subject 12 different times. But I would tell those who doubt our policy that we share a common goal, which is peace, and that free societies are peaceful societies. They may say, "Well, you can't possibly expect a country like Iraq to be free," and then we'd have an interesting philosophical debate because I believe freedom exists in the heart of every single human being. It may take longer for people to accept freedom, if they've been tortured and brutalized like Saddam Hussein did.

Secondly, I would tell the skeptics that not only is the world more secure as a result of the decisions we made, the Iraqi people now have a chance to live in a society which is hopeful and optimistic, a society in which you're able to speak your mind, a society in which you don't have to pay homage to a brutal tyrant and his two brutal sons, which is precisely how they had to live in the past.

Threats to World Peace

Mr. Kavanagh. So how do you respond to those people who were polled by the Europe Commission and found that America was—alongside Iran, North Korea—is the second most powerful threat to world peace?

The President. You just have to tell them, "Watch what happens." The world is going to be more peaceful, and the free world will be more secure as a result of the decisions we've taken.

United Kingdom's Contribution in Iraq

Mr. Kavanagh. Can I ask you about the special relationship, the role the British soldiers play in Iraq and are still playing?

The President. Sure.

Mr. Kavanagh. Would you like to tell me about you feel about our contribution?

The President. Yes, I'll tell you about your troops. They are well trained. They are well motivated, and they're really good at what they do. And our soldiers and our generals and our commanders really appreciate being side-by-side with the Brits. They trust them, and that's important.

Secondly, in Basra, the Brits have brought an interesting strategy in dealing in Basra because you have dealt in Northern Ireland. In other words, it was kind of a transfer of experience that has been incredibly useful and important. I am really proud of our—not only our alliance because it's close now, and I intend to keep it that way.

I've got a great personal relationship with Tony Blair. Let me tell you something about him just real quick, because it relates also to the trust of the troops. He's a man who comes in here, and he says he's going to do something, and as I said—as they say in Texas, you can book him when he says he's going to do something; you can take it to the bank. Because every time he has said something, he has done it, and I appreciate that a lot. It's not always the way it is in politics, whether it be domestic or international politics. Sometimes they'll come and look you in the eye and say, "Oh, don't worry, Mr. President, we're with you and behind you," and it turns out they're way behind you. You can't find them when the heat gets on. But that's not the way Tony Blair is, and that's not the way the Brits' command structure is, and that's not the way the soldiers in the field have been. They've been tough and capable and decent people—that's the other thing about militaries. Both our militaries are full of compassionate people, because not only are we chasing down people and bringing

them to justice, as we say, but there are schools being built, orphanages being opened, hospitals being supplied, thanks to compassionate British troops and American troops as well, and other troops. It speaks to the honor of our respective militaries. These are honorable people.

President's Upcoming Meeting With Families of Fallen British Soldiers

Mr. Kavanagh. You're going to speak to some of the families of those who have already died in Iraq and also September the 11th.

The President. Yes.

Mr. Kavanagh. You're going to see them, I guess, on Downing Street.

The President. Well, I'm not sure exactly where, but you bet. I am going to see them.

Mr. Kavanagh. What are you going to say to them?

The President. Well, I'm going to first of all ask for God's blessings, because I understand how bad they hurt. I can't imagine what it would be like, if I were a mother or a dad, to have lost a child. I'm a proud dad. It's got to shatter a person's heart to lose a loved one, and I will do the best I can to provide some comfort. I have done this here in America as well. It's part of my duty as the leader of this country to comfort those who have sacrificed.

I'll also explain to them as best as I can that the sacrifices that their loved one has made is for a noble cause, and that's peace and freedom. I strongly believe that what we're doing today will make it easier for this person's grandchild to grow up in a free world and a peaceful world.

I'll tell you an interesting story, kind of dawned on me a while ago. I was talking to Prime Minister Koizumi of Japan in Tokyo. We were having dinner, actually. And I kind of reflected on what it would be like—during our dinner, I reflected on what it would be like if America and the Allies hadn't done a good job in post-World War II. Would I be sitting with a Prime Minister of Japan, with whom I've got great relations, talking about how to deal with Kim Chong-il and North Korea? It's an interesting thought.

Mr. Kavanagh. Very interesting.

The President. Beyond that is whether or not somebody 50 years from now is going to be sitting with a leader from Iraq or any other country in that region saying, "Thank goodness George W. and Tony Blair held the line, because I'm now able to deal with terrorist threats or potential terrorist threats with an ally. I'm able to help bring more peace to the world."

Presidents and Prime Ministers should never worry about their short-term history, how they're viewed in short-term history. There's no such thing as short-term history, except for the musings of somebody who's not very objective to begin with, because if you set big goals and work on big items, the President or the Prime Minister won't be around to see the effects of those policies. And therefore, I don't worry about the short-term history. I think in terms of long-term history. I know what we're doing now is going to have an effect, a positive effect on this world.

France, Germany, and NATO

Mr. Kavanagh. Can I just backtrack a little?

The President. Sure.

Mr. Kavanagh. You were talking earlier about the contributions countries like Britain and Italy have made, and others.

The President. Spain, Poland, a lot of people.

Mr. Kavanagh. You didn't mention France and Germany in that. You seem very critical of France.

The President. Look, my attitude is the past is there. It's past, and now let's go on. I'll tell you one example of why that attitude is important, and that is Germany's contribution in Afghanistan. And it's a positive contribution, more than positive; it's incredibly helpful. They've got a number of troops there. It's the first deployment of German troops, as I understand, outside of their soil since World War II. It's a positive—yes, I think that's right. Check the facts. But anyway, it's helpful, really helpful.

Mr. Kavanagh. And NATO?

The President. Yes, NATO is important.

Mr. Kavanagh. But France is a semidetached member of NATO—

The President. Well, it's a historic role—

Mr. Kavanagh. They won't be a rival—

The President. I certainly hope not. See, there's no need to rival the United States and our friends. Our goals are peace.

Mr. Kavanagh. But France wants to counter.

The President. You mean multipolarity? Well, I think we need to work against multipolarity, and the reason why I know we need to work against multipolarity is a Europe working with America can do a lot together. A united Europe working with America can do a lot together. We can promote peace. We can fight off terror, which is necessary, and there needs to be full cooperation in order to defeat the terrorists. We can work on issues like global AIDS.

I'm real proud of our country's contribution to global AIDS, just to give you a sense of my feeling on this. We are a fortunate country. We're prosperous—and by the way, we're becoming more prosperous, which is good news.

Global AIDS Initiative

Mr. Kavanagh. I'd like to ask you about that.

The President. Okay. But I believe we owe a lot to the world's peace, and we owe a lot to those who suffer, because of our fortune, because of our wealth. I'm proud of the fact that Congress has supported my initiative to provide a large sum of money. And as importantly, I'm proud of our NGOs and faith-based organizations that are willing to help provide the infrastructure so that we can get help to beat this pandemic. We're a prosperous country, and yet in our world an entire generation is about to be wiped out. And I feel strongly about America's need to be involved and Europe's need to be involved in this issue together, just like I feel strongly we need to provide food for the hungry, just like I feel strongly that when we see tyranny, that we need to work for freedom.

Every situation, of course, doesn't require military action. I just repeat—I want your readers to know, the military is my last choice, not my first choice. See, I understand the consequences of war. I understand the risks of war. I understand firsthand, particu-

larly when I go and hug the moms and dads and brothers and sisters and sons and daughters of those who died.

I also see the consequences of not acting, of hoping for the best in the face of these tyrannical killers. So therefore, our foreign policy will be active. We'll work closely with our friends and allies, and we're going to stay on the offensive against the terrorists.

National Economy/Steel Tariffs

Mr. Kavanagh. Let me just ask you one quick question on the economy.

The President. Yes.

Mr. Kavanagh. It's going great guns. You're revising figures upwards. You introduced tax cuts. You promised tax cuts; you introduced them. Is this a message to the rest of the world too?

The President. Well, I think people ought to look at progrowth policies and how to stimulate the entrepreneurial spirit. To me, one of the unique qualities of our country is the individualism of our country and the willingness of people to take risks to better themselves. Most new jobs in America are created by small businesses, and that's an exciting aspect of our economy, because it not only is good economics to have the job-hiring dispersed throughout society, it also is such a hopeful part of our economy, when you think about somebody in America can start their own business and grow it and then actually own something. They become the owner of this piece of property.

Our tax policy was very effective at stimulating small-business growth, because most small businesses pay tax at the individual income tax level. When you hear "small business" or "small corporation," you think "corporate tax." But in America most small businesses are sole proprietorships or Subchapter S's, so that when we cut all rates, not trying to select rate cuts but all rates, it really affected capital formation in the small business.

This economy and this country, more importantly, is tough and resilient. We've been through a lot. When I showed up here, we were in recession. I guess we were headed into recession. But the first—I show up—Dick Cheney and I are here; we get sworn in in late January; and the first quarter of

'01 is recession or the beginnings of a recession. And then the attacks hurt us, and we had corporate scandals. But I think the world is beginning to see America will deal with corporate scandals in a tough way. It doesn't matter whether you're—we will hold people to account. I believe, in criminal matters, that there has to be consequences for bad behavior, and clear consequences, and that's how you deter bad behavior. And our SEC and our prosecutors are moving quickly.

The war affected people, but we're overcoming that. It's not only good tax policy, but we've got to work on making sure Congress doesn't overspend, and that's tough. But I'm holding the line. We've done pretty good on our budget agreements so far. We need better legal policy. I've been pushing tort reform at the national level on class action suits, all of which make it easier for people to kind of calculate risk when it comes to employing capital, which is the essence of promoting the entrepreneurial spirit.

Trade is a very important element. I'll be dealing—real quickly—I'm going to take a good look at the steel issue. The International Trade Commission made a ruling. It said our industry was being harmed by imports. I felt I had an obligation to take that report seriously, which I did. I imposed tariffs to see whether or not—to give the breathing room for the industry to restructure. I'm not analyzing the extent to which they restructured. Having said that, I am a fierce free trader. I believe in free trade. I know free trade is important between America and Great Britain, and I will continue to resist any protectionist tendencies here. In order for us to be free traders, however, we've got to enforce the rules of free trade, and I was doing so through the International Trade Commission's report.

Sorry I cut you off.

Mr. Kavanagh. Not at all.

The President. First Lady Bush is standing out there. We're getting ready to award the National Humanities Award here.

Mr. Kavanagh. Many thanks.

The President. See you over there.

NOTE: The interview began at 9:31 a.m. on November 14 in the Oval Office at the White House. The transcript was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 14 but was

embargoed for release until 8 a.m., November 17. In his remarks, the President referred to Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom; President Jose Maria Aznar of Spain; Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi of Italy; Chairman Kim Chong-il of North Korea; Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi of Japan; former President Saddam Hussein of Iraq; L. Paul Bremer III, Presidential Envoy to Iraq; and David Kay, CIA Special Advisor for Strategy Regarding Iraqi Weapons of Mass Destruction Programs. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this interview.

Remarks Following Discussions With Members of the Governing Council of Iraq and Members of the Baghdad Advisory Council and an Exchange With Reporters

November 17, 2003

The President. It's been my honor to host one of the most extraordinary meetings I've had as the President of the United States. I'm seated here with five courageous, brave Iraqi women who believe in the people of Iraq, believe in the future of Iraq, who love their freedoms, who look forward to working to see that their nation is a free and peaceful country.

The stories of these five courageous leaders is a story of human tragedy on the one hand and human hope on the other. And I am so honored that they're here. Two members of the Governing Council are with us. I'll ask each member to say a couple of words, and then I'll be glad to answer a couple of questions.

Would you like to start? The leader of the delegation. And by the way, there is an extensive group of Iraqi women in the room next door that I will go talk to here in a minute with these—along with these other five leaders here.

Raja Habib Khuzai. I lead the delegation of the 17 women, Iraqi women, and we represent Iraq. And all of us are different ethnic and religious groups, but we are from Iraq. And we are all Iraqis, and Iraq is just one nation. And we are looking forward to see the new, democratic Iraq, and everyone will live in peace. We don't like wars anymore, and we suffered a lot.

Songul Chapouk. Yes. I'm also from the Governing Council. I'm also leading these women. And I am from the Turkoman community, and it's a pleasure for me to be in America. And I work for my people. I'd like to see Iraq have a new Government, and I'd like to see my people—more security. And I'd like to say that my people in Iraq, all of them, Kurdish, Turkoman, Arab, they're all working together. And the Sunni Triangle, there is no Sunni Triangle; they're all Iraqi.

We all like Iraq. We all like America, and we don't want them let—we don't want them to leave us. We need them because we have open borders and we don't have army and we don't have trained policemen, so we need them at this time. And we ask them to not leave us, please, at this time, because this is a very, very difficult condition for us. Our children like you, our children want you to stay, and all Iraqi people like your forces.

Thank you very much.

The President. I assured these five women that America wasn't leaving. When they hear me say, "We're staying," that means we're staying. And that's precisely what the terrorists want to do, is to try to drive us out of Iraq before these leaders and other leaders are able to put their Government together and live in peace. And we will succeed—we will succeed.

Let me answer a couple of questions. Hunt [Terence Hunt, Associated Press].

Iraqi Transition/U.S. Cooperation

Q. Sir, I'd like to pick up there on what you just said about "America isn't leaving" and what this woman said about they want us to stay. Is it fair to think of this provisional Government that's going to be established as any part of an exit strategy? Or——

The President. No. The politics will go forward. The political process is moving on. The Iraqi people are plenty capable of governing themselves. We're in the process now of working with the Governing Council to put in place the necessary laws so that people feel comfortable about the evolution of the Government. The Governing Council itself is going to be making these decisions, and it's full of capable people.

On the other hand, we will continue to work with the Iraqi people to secure its coun-

try. We fully recognize that Iraq has become a new front on the war on terror and that there are disgruntled Ba'athists as well as Fedayeen fighters and mujahideen types and Al Qaida types that want to test the will of the civilized world there. And we will work with Iraqis to bring people to justice. We talked about the high price the Iraqi citizens are paying. There's a lot of brave and courageous Iraqi soldiers and police who are chasing down these terrorists, and they're paying a price for it.

And the reason I bring that up is, the Iraqi people want to be free. And we will continue to work with them to develop a free society. And a free Iraq is not only in the interests of these five courageous women; a free Iraq is in our interests. A free Iraq in a part of the world is troublesome and dangerous will set such a good example. We're talking about an historic opportunity to change parts of the world, and Iraq will be the leader of that change.

It's important for American citizens to know that what is taking place in Iraq will be in the long-term security interests for their children and their grandchildren. And I want to thank these five pioneers for freedom who are sitting here with me today.

Last question, Steve [Steve Holland, Reuters].

Al Qaida and Terrorist Attacks

Q. Al Qaida appears to be taking responsibility for bombings in Istanbul, Riyadh, Baghdad. Are we seeing a reconstitution of Al Qaida?

The President. We're seeing the nature of Al Qaida. They'll kill innocent people anywhere, anytime. That's just the way they are. They have no regard for human life. They claim they're religious people, but they're not. Religious people do not murder innocent citizens. Religious people don't just indiscriminately bomb.

The bombing in Istanbul, I was told today, may have taken more Muslim lives than any other religion. They just kill, and they're trying to create fear and chaos.

I had a good talk with Prime Minister Erdogan, who assured me that, one, he understood his responsibilities to protect people from all religions within his country and,

two, that he would chase these killers down and bring them to justice. There's only one way to deal with Al Qaida: find them and bring them to justice. And that's exactly what the United States and a lot of other nations, including a free Iraq, will do. We do this in the name of humanity. We do this in the name of freedom, and we do it in the name of peace.

Thank you all very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:57 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan of Turkey.

Remarks Honoring NCAA Spring Championship Teams

November 17, 2003

Please be seated. Thanks for coming. Let's see, I forgot who said, "This is the people's house, and we're just letting you live here." You're right. Welcome to the people's house. I'm glad to be just living here for a while.

I'm also really glad to honor some of our country's really fine individuals to the White House, all of whom worked to make their team successful. It is—we call this Championship Day, where champions come, people who put their talents to good use, and people who have got a lot of talents to continue to put to use to make sure our country is as hopeful and compassionate as possible. So welcome to the White House. We're really thrilled you're here.

We've got some pretty interesting characters with us today. [*Laughter*] Every person has got to have a good lawyer, particularly in America. And I got a good one, and that's Judge Al Gonzales, who is the White House legal counsel, who graduated from Rice University. Judge, thank you for coming.

We have got Members from the United States Congress with us today. From the great State of Texas, Chris Bell and John Culberson. Thank you all for coming, Chris and John. I'm glad you're here. I suspect I know why you're here. Rush Holt from the State of New Jersey is with us. Rush, thank you for coming. Mark Kennedy is with us. Mark, good to see you, sir, glad you're back. Cliff Stearns—hi, Cliff, how are you?

We've got the university leaders with us. Chancellor Nancy Cantor from the University of Illinois is with us. Chancellor, we're honored you are here. Jim Barker, the president of Clemson University; Malcolm Gillis, from Houston, Texas, Rice University. Thank you all for coming, and thank you for bringing the people from your universities here to the White House. We're glad you're here.

First, I want to honor an individual. I said this, that we're going to honor teams, but we're going to first start off with an individual here on Champions Day. The man I'm about to introduce has been winning college football games since Harry Truman was in the White House. [*Laughter*] His teams have picked up 409 victories in the course of his career, and that's John Gagliardi. The reason why his teams play so well is because not only is he a good coach, he's first and foremost a very decent person who honors values, who believes in the potential of every individual, who leads through example.

Coach Gagliardi, we're honored that you're here. We appreciate so very much Peggy and Jim being with you. Coach Gagliardi told me Jim—or Jim told me he's the offensive coordinator. He said, "I kind of like"—I said, "I kind of like a guy who follows in his father's footsteps." [*Laughter*] But it's such an honor to welcome this fine human being with us today. Coach Gagliardi, congratulations, and thank you very much for being here, sir.

Every team here did really well. But only one team was undefeated, and that was the Mighty Illini tennis team. They were 32–0. Coach Tiley, I don't know if it was the scheduling that did it. [*Laughter*] You had a lot of really good players; I know that. I'm so glad you're here. I appreciate the fine tennis players being here. I want to congratulate you on your undefeated season. I want to congratulate you on being national champs in men's tennis.

The Lady Gators are with us from Florida. If you've got any complaints, Lady Gators, about this day, just go ahead and write the Governor. [*Laughter*] This is the fourth team from your distinguished university to make it to the White House. I appreciate Coach Thornqvist. I'm honored that the Lady

Gators are with us today. And I want to congratulate you as well for being the national champs, representing your school.

The Clemson golf team started the year at number one—this will be your Clemson men's golf team—and they ended the year at number one. That's called a wire-to-wire, start to finish. I appreciate very much Larry Penley; he's been the coach. He's been there for only two decades. He's taken a while to get it right. No. *[Laughter]* I want to congratulate Coach Penley and the mighty Clemson golf team. I know the people down there in South Carolina are really proud of you.

Last year I had the honor of hosting the Princeton women's lacrosse team, and so I just kind of said, "You think you'll be back next year?" They said, yeah, they thought they'd be back next year. I like people who do what they say they're going to do. *[Laughter]* I want to congratulate the Princeton women's and Coach Sailer for winning your sport back-to-back. These are great athletes and great scholars with us. And I'm real proud that you're here. So I asked them once again, "Are you going to be back next year?" They said, "How about you?" No. They said—*[laughter]*. I appreciate—*[laughter]*—never mind. *[Laughter]*

The USC women's golf team is with us. Mikaela Parmlid was the national champ last year, the individual championship. The thing I like about her, she was more interested in helping her team win. And thanks to Andrea Gaston, the Lady Trojans, they beat a difficult field and are national champs from USC. I bet there are some men's football players that'd like to be here as well from your university. *[Laughter]*

The mighty Virginia Cavalier lacrosse team is here. This is—I didn't know much about lacrosse. I kind of saw it in the periphery for a while. Then I watched—I happened to be working out upstairs and watched the finals. Whew, it's a tough game, and banging each other over the heads with sticks, and—*[laughter]*—but I'm proud of Coach Starsia and the Cavaliers for winning this important championship, a 9–7 championship game. It was a classic of conditioning and toughness and desire. And I'm proud to say that you won it.

We've also got the UCLA softball team here with us, ladies' softball team. I can remember when I was the Governor of Texas, I used to work out in the weight room. And I can remember the Texas girls telling me, they said, "Don't worry, Governor, we'll be the national champs." They forgot about Coach Enquist's team. The UCLA Bruins are a great ladies' softball team. It's a tough field, and they had great pitching—a very competitive team. And I want to congratulate you all for being here. I asked if there are any that are going to be on the Olympic team. I think three or four hands went up who will be representing the United States in Olympic softball. I pity the teams they play. *[Laughter]*

Finally, the mighty Rice Owls are here with us. I grew up in Houston. I can remember going over to the ballpark over there on the campus to watch the Rice teams of old play. Coach Graham and the Owls not only represented a fine university well, they represented a great baseball State. They—I told Coach Graham, I said, "It's great to be with people who go to a fine school and at the same time beat a really tough, tough field in baseball." And so I want to congratulate the mighty Owls for coming. I know a lot of folks in Houston are really proud of your accomplishments. So are a lot of people in Texas.

So this is Championship—we're honored to have the teams with us—Championship Day. The thing—the lesson I love about team sports and about champions is that champions work hard. They live a good, clean life in order to succeed. But they all serve something greater than themselves in life. And that's an important example for our country. It's important for people to recognize that serving something greater than yourself in life makes you a whole person, helps you understand the significance of life.

My call to these champs is to remember that now that you're a champion, a lot of people, particularly young kids, are looking at you, wondering what it's like to be a champ, wondering what it's like to serve the school or the region or the State so very well. It means you've got a little extra task at hand, means you got to understand that you're an example for somebody and you can actually

affect somebody's life in a positive way by how you handle the responsibilities of being a champion.

Again, congratulations for working hard, for winning. Congratulations for what you have done. Congratulations for what you're going to do with your life. May God bless you all, may God bless your universities, and may God continue to bless our great country.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:40 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Malcolm Gillis, president, and Wayne Graham, head baseball coach, Rice University; John Gagliardi, head football coach, St. John's University, his wife, Peggy, and their son, Jim, offensive coordinator, St. John's University football team; Craig Tiley, men's tennis head coach, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; Gov. Jeb Bush of Florida; Roland Thornqvist, women's tennis head coach, University of Florida; Larry Penley, men's golf head coach, Clemson University; Chris Sailer, women's lacrosse head coach, Princeton University; Andrea Gaston, head coach, and Mikaela Parmlid, former player, women's golf, University of Southern California; Dom Starsia, men's lacrosse head coach, University of Virginia; and Sue Enquist, women's softball head coach, University of California-Los Angeles.

Remarks Following a Meeting With Congressional Leaders

November 17, 2003

I just had the honor of meeting with the Medicare Conference Working Group. I first thanked them for their extraordinary leadership on developing a fine piece of legislation for Medicare. There are Republican leaders at this table; there are Democrat leaders at this table. These are Americans who understand we have an obligation to our seniors to modernize and strengthen the Medicare system.

The bill that will be offered to the House and the Senate modernizes and strengthens Medicare. There's 400 billion additional dollars available for our seniors in this bill. There's prescription drug coverage in the bill for our seniors. This vote will demonstrate whether the Members of the House and the Senate will help keep our commitment to America's seniors. I look forward to working

with the Members around the table to secure passage of this very important and historic piece of legislation. I urge members of both political parties to study the legislation, to remember the promise we have made to America's seniors, and to vote yes for this legislation.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:20 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Message to the Senate Transmitting the Council of Europe Convention on Cybercrime

November 17, 2003

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Council of Europe Convention on Cybercrime (the "Cybercrime Convention" or the "Convention"), which was signed by the United States on November 23, 2001. In addition, for the information of the Senate, I transmit the report of the Department of State with respect to the Convention and the Convention's official Explanatory Report.

The United States, in its capacity as an observer at the Council of Europe, participated actively in the elaboration of the Convention, which is the only multilateral treaty to address the problems of computer-related crime and electronic evidence gathering. An overview of the Convention's provisions is provided in the report of the Department of State. The report also sets forth proposed reservations and declarations that would be deposited by the United States with its instrument of ratification. With these reservations and declarations, the Convention would not require implementing legislation for the United States.

The Convention promises to be an effective tool in the global effort to combat computer-related crime. It requires Parties to criminalize, if they have not already done so, certain conduct that is committed through, against, or related to computer systems. Such substantive crimes include offenses against

the “confidentiality, integrity and availability” of computer data and systems, as well as using computer systems to engage in conduct that would be criminal if committed outside the cyber-realm, i.e., forgery, fraud, child pornography, and certain copyright-related offenses. The Convention also requires Parties to have the ability to investigate computer-related crime effectively and to obtain electronic evidence in all types of criminal investigations and proceedings.

By providing for broad international cooperation in the form of extradition and mutual legal assistance, the Cybercrime Convention would remove or minimize legal obstacles to international cooperation that delay or endanger U.S. investigations and prosecutions of computer-related crime. As such, it would help deny “safe havens” to criminals, including terrorists, who can cause damage to U.S. interests from abroad using computer systems. At the same time, the Convention contains safeguards that protect civil liberties and other legitimate interests.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Cybercrime Convention, and that it give its advice and consent to ratification, subject to the reservations, declarations, and understanding described in the accompanying report of the Department of State.

George W. Bush

The White House,
November 17, 2003.

Statement on the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court Decision on the State’s Ban of Same Sex Marriages

November 18, 2003

Marriage is a sacred institution between a man and a woman. Today’s decision of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court violates this important principle. I will work with congressional leaders and others to do what is legally necessary to defend the sanctity of marriage.

Statement on House of Representatives Action on Comprehensive Energy Legislation

November 18, 2003

I am pleased with the strong bipartisan support for a national energy policy that will use technology, conservation, renewables, and increased production of energy at home. For the past 2 years, the passage of a comprehensive national energy policy has been a top priority for my administration, and I commend the House for its vote today and urge the Senate to act expeditiously as well. America will be more prosperous and more secure when we are less dependent on foreign sources of energy. Reliable and affordable energy is critical to our economic security, our national security, and our homeland security.

NOTE: The Office of the Press Secretary also released a Spanish language version of this statement.

Statement on Signing the Animal Drug User Fee Act of 2003

November 18, 2003

Today, I have signed into law S. 313, the “Animal Drug User Fee Act of 2003.” The Act is designed to expedite the animal drug development process, while continuing to ensure the safety and effectiveness of animal drugs.

Section 4(a) of the Act purports to require the Secretary of Health and Human Services to submit legislative recommendations to the Congress and to establish procedures by which the Secretary must formulate such recommendations. The legislative power does not extend to requiring the Executive submit legislative recommendations to the Congress nor to specifying procedures by which the Executive must formulate any legislative recommendations that the Executive makes. The executive branch shall execute section 4(a) in a manner consistent with the Constitution’s exclusive commitments to the President of the authority to submit for the consideration of the Congress such measures as he judges necessary and expedient and the

authority to supervise the unitary executive branch.

George W. Bush

The White House,
November 18, 2003.

NOTE: S. 313, approved November 18, was assigned Public Law No. 108-130.

**Message to the Congress
Transmitting the National Money
Laundering Strategy**

November 18, 2003

To the Congress of the United States:

Consistent with section 2(a) of the Money Laundering and Financial Crimes Strategy Act of 1998 (Public Law 105-310; 31 U.S.C. 5341(a)(2)), enclosed is the 2003 National Money Laundering Strategy, prepared by my Administration.

George W. Bush

The White House,
November 18, 2003.

**Remarks at Whitehall Palace in
London, United Kingdom**

November 19, 2003

Thank you very much. Secretary Straw and Secretary Hoon, Admiral Cobbold and Dr. Chipman, distinguished guests: I want to thank you for your very kind welcome that you've given to me and to Laura. I also thank the groups hosting this event, the Royal United Services Institute and the International Institute for Strategic Studies. We're honored to be in the United Kingdom, and we bring the good wishes of the American people.

It was pointed out to me that the last noted American to visit London stayed in a glass box dangling over the Thames. [*Laughter*] A few might have been happy to provide similar arrangements for me. [*Laughter*] I thank Her Majesty the Queen for interceding. [*Laughter*] We're honored to be staying at her house.

Americans traveling to England always observe more similarities to our country than

differences. I've been here only a short time, but I've noticed that the tradition of free speech, exercised with enthusiasm—[*laughter*—is alive and well here in London. We have that at home too. They now have that right in Baghdad as well.

The people of Great Britain also might see some familiar traits in Americans. We're sometimes faulted for a naive faith that liberty can change the world. If that's an error, it began with reading too much John Locke and Adam Smith. Americans have, on occasion, been called moralists who often speak in terms of right and wrong. That zeal has been inspired by examples on this island, by the tireless compassion of Lord Shaftesbury, the righteous courage of Wilberforce, and the firm determination of the Royal Navy over the decades to fight and end the trade in slaves.

It's rightly said that Americans are a religious people. That's in part because the "Good News" was translated by Tyndale, preached by Wesley, lived out in the example of William Booth. At times, Americans are even said to have a puritan streak. And where might that have come from? [*Laughter*] Well, we can start with the Puritans.

To this fine heritage, Americans have added a few traits of our own, the good influence of our immigrants, the spirit of the frontier. Yet, there remains a bit of England in every American. So much of our national character comes from you, and we're glad for it.

The fellowship of generations is the cause of common beliefs. We believe in open societies ordered by moral conviction. We believe in private markets humanized by compassionate government. We believe in economies that reward effort, communities that protect the weak, and the duty of nations to respect the dignity and the rights of all. And whether one learns these ideals in County Durham or in west Texas, they instill mutual respect, and they inspire common purpose.

More than an alliance of security and commerce, the British and American peoples have an alliance of values. And today, this old and tested alliance is very strong.

The deepest beliefs of our nations set the direction of our foreign policy. We value our own civil rights, so we stand for the human

rights of others. We affirm the God-given dignity of every person, so we are moved to action by poverty and oppression and famine and disease. The United States and Great Britain share a mission in the world beyond the balance of power or the simple pursuit of interest. We seek the advance of freedom and the peace that freedom brings. Together, our nations are standing and sacrificing for this high goal in a distant land at this very hour, and America honors the idealism and the bravery of the sons and daughters of Britain.

The last President to stay at Buckingham Palace was an idealist, without question. At a dinner hosted by King George V in 1918, Woodrow Wilson made a pledge. With typical American understatement—[*laughter*]—he vowed that right and justice would become the predominant and controlling force in the world.

President Wilson had come to Europe with his Fourteen Points for peace. Many complimented him on his vision, yet some were dubious. Take, for example, the Prime Minister of France. He complained that God himself had only Ten Commandments. [*Laughter*] Sounds familiar. [*Laughter*]

At Wilson's high point of idealism, however, Europe was one short generation from Munich and Auschwitz and the Blitz. Looking back, we see the reasons why. The League of Nations, lacking both credibility and will, collapsed at the first challenge of the dictators. Free nations failed to recognize, much less confront, the aggressive evil in plain sight. And so dictators went about their business, feeding resentments and anti-Semitism, bringing death to innocent people in this city and across the world, and filling the last century with violence and genocide.

Through World War and cold war, we learned that idealism, if it is to do any good in this world, requires common purpose and national strength, moral courage, and patience in difficult tasks. And now our generation has need of these qualities.

On September the 11th, 2001, terrorists left their mark of murder on my country and took the lives of 67 British citizens. With the passing of months and years, it is the natural human desire to resume a quiet life and to put that day behind us, as if waking from

a dark dream. The hope that danger has passed is comforting, is understanding, and it is false. The attacks that followed on Bali, Jakarta, Casablanca, Bombay, Mombasa, Najaf, Jerusalem, Riyadh, Baghdad, and Istanbul were not dreams. They're part of a global campaign by terrorist networks to intimidate and demoralize all who oppose them.

These terrorists target the innocent, and they kill by the thousands. And they would, if they gain the weapons they seek, kill by the millions and not be finished. The greatest threat of our age is nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons in the hands of terrorists and the dictators who aid them. The evil is in plain sight. The danger only increases with denial. Great responsibilities fall once again to the great democracies. We will face these threats with open eyes, and we will defeat them.

The peace and security of free nations now rests on three pillars. First, international organizations must be equal to the challenges facing our world, from lifting up failing states to opposing proliferation. Like 11 Presidents before me, I believe in the international institutions and alliances that America helped to form and helps to lead. The United States and Great Britain have labored hard to help make the United Nations what it is supposed to be, an effective instrument of our collective security. In recent months, we've sought and gained three additional resolutions on Iraq, Resolutions 1441, 1483, and 1511, precisely because the global danger of terror demands a global response. The United Nations has no more compelling advocate than your Prime Minister, who at every turn has championed its ideals and appealed to its authority. He understands as well that the credibility of the U.N. depends on a willingness to keep its word and to act when action is required.

America and Great Britain have done and will do all in their power to prevent the United Nations from solemnly choosing its own irrelevance and inviting the fate of the League of Nations. It's not enough to meet the dangers of the world with resolutions. We must meet those dangers with resolve.

In this century, as in the last, nations can accomplish more together than apart. For 54

years, America has stood with our partners in NATO, the most effective multilateral institution in history. We're committed to this great democratic Alliance, and we believe it must have the will and the capacity to act beyond Europe where threats emerge. My Nation welcomes the growing unity of Europe, and the world needs America and the European Union to work in common purpose for the advance of security and justice. America is cooperating with four other nations to meet the dangers posed by North Korea. America believes the IAEA must be true to its purpose and hold Iran to its obligations.

Our first choice and our constant practice is to work with other responsible governments. We understand as well that the success of multilateralism is not measured by adherence to forms alone, the tidiness of the process, but by the results we achieve to keep our nations secure.

The second pillar of peace and security in our world is the willingness of free nations, when the last resort arrives, to restrain* aggression and evil by force. There are principled objections to the use of force in every generation, and I credit the good motives behind these views. Those in authority, however, are not judged only by good motivations. The people have given us the duty to defend them, and that duty sometimes requires the violent restraint of violent men. In some cases, the measured use of force is all that protects us from a chaotic world ruled by force.

Most in the peaceful West have no living memory of that kind of world. Yet in some countries, the memories are recent. The victims of ethnic cleansing in the Balkans, those who survived the rapists and the death squads, have few qualms when NATO applied force to help end those crimes. The women of Afghanistan, imprisoned in their homes and beaten in the streets and executed in public spectacles, did not reproach us for routing the Taliban. The inhabitants of Iraq's Ba'athist hell, with its lavish palaces and its torture chambers, with its massive statues and its mass graves, do not miss their fugitive dictator. They rejoiced at his fall.

In all these cases, military action was preceded by diplomatic initiatives and negotiations and ultimatums and final chances until the final moment. In Iraq, year after year, the dictator was given the chance to account for his weapons programs and end the nightmare for his people. Now the resolutions he defied have been enforced.

And who will say that Iraq was better off when Saddam Hussein was strutting and killing or that the world was safer when he held power? Who doubts that Afghanistan is a more just society and less dangerous without Mullah Omar playing host to terrorists from around the world? And Europe too is plainly better off with Milosevic answering for his crimes instead of committing more.

It's been said that those who live near a police station find it hard to believe in the triumph of violence. In the same way, free peoples might be tempted to take for granted the orderly societies we have come to know. Europe's peaceful unity is one of the great achievements of the last half-century. And because European countries now resolve differences through negotiation and consensus, there's sometimes an assumption that the entire world functions in the same way. But let us never forget how Europe's unity was achieved: by Allied armies of liberation and NATO armies of defense. And let us never forget, beyond Europe's borders, in a world where oppression and violence are very real, liberation is still a moral goal, and freedom and security still need defenders.

The third pillar of security is our commitment to the global expansion of democracy and the hope and progress it brings as the alternative to instability and hatred and terror. We cannot rely exclusively on military power to assure our long-term security. Lasting peace is gained as justice and democracy advance.

In democratic and successful societies, men and women do not swear allegiance to malcontents and murderers; they turn their hearts and labor to building better lives. And democratic governments do not shelter terrorist camps or attack their peaceful neighbors; they honor the aspirations and dignity

* White House correction.

of their own people. In our conflict with terror and tyranny, we have an unmatched advantage, a power that cannot be resisted, and that is the appeal of freedom to all mankind.

As global powers, both our nations serve the cause of freedom in many ways, in many places. By promoting development and fighting famine and AIDS and other diseases, we're fulfilling our moral duties as well as encouraging stability and building a firmer basis for democratic institutions. By working for justice in Burma, in the Sudan, and in Zimbabwe, we give hope to suffering people and improve the chances for stability and progress. By extending the reach of trade, we foster prosperity and the habits of liberty. And by advancing freedom in the greater Middle East, we help end a cycle of dictatorship and radicalism that brings millions of people to misery and brings danger to our own people.

The stakes in that region could not be higher. If the Middle East remains a place where freedom does not flourish, it will remain a place of stagnation and anger and violence for export. And as we saw in the ruins of two towers, no distance on the map will protect our lives and way of life. If the greater Middle East joins the democratic revolution that has reached much of the world, the lives of millions in that region will be bettered, and a trend of conflict and fear will be ended at its source.

The movement of history will not come about quickly. Because of our own democratic development—the fact that it was gradual and, at times, turbulent—we must be patient with others. And the Middle East countries have some distance to travel.

Arab scholars speak of a freedom deficit that has separated whole nations from the progress of our time. The essentials of social and material progress—limited government, equal justice under law, religious and economic liberty, political participation, free press, and respect for the rights of women—have been scarce across the region. Yet that has begun to change. In an arc of reform from Morocco to Jordan to Qatar, we are seeing elections and new protections for women and the stirrings of political pluralism. Many governments are realizing that theocracy and dictatorship do not lead to national greatness;

they end in national ruin. They are finding, as others will find, that national progress and dignity are achieved when governments are just and people are free.

The democratic progress we've seen in the Middle East was not imposed from abroad, and neither will the greater progress we hope to see. Freedom, by definition, must be chosen and defended by those who choose it. Our part, as free nations, is to ally ourselves with reform, wherever it occurs.

Perhaps the most helpful change we can make is to—change in our own thinking. In the West, there's been a certain skepticism about the capacity or even the desire of Middle Eastern peoples for self-government. We're told that Islam is somehow inconsistent with a democratic culture. Yet more than half of the world's Muslims are today contributing citizens in democratic societies. It is suggested that the poor, in their daily struggles, care little for self-government. Yet the poor especially need the power of democracy to defend themselves against corrupt elites.

Peoples of the Middle East share a high civilization, a religion of personal responsibility, and a need for freedom as deep as our own. It is not realism to suppose that one-fifth of humanity is unsuited to liberty. It is pessimism and condescension, and we should have none of it.

We must shake off decades of failed policy in the Middle East. Your nation and mine, in the past, have been willing to make a bargain, to tolerate oppression for the sake of stability. Longstanding ties often led us to overlook the faults of local elites. Yet this bargain did not bring stability or make us safe. It merely bought time while problems festered and ideologies of violence took hold.

As recent history has shown, we cannot turn a blind eye to oppression just because the oppression is not in our own backyard. No longer should we think tyranny is benign because it is temporarily convenient. Tyranny is never benign to its victims, and our great democracies should oppose tyranny wherever it is found.

Now we're pursuing a different course, a forward strategy of freedom in the Middle East. We will consistently challenge the enemies of reform and confront the allies of

terror. We will expect a higher standard from our friends in the region, and we will meet our responsibilities in Afghanistan and in Iraq by finishing the work of democracy we have begun.

There were good-faith disagreements in your country and mine over the course and timing of military action in Iraq. Whatever has come before, we now have only two options: to keep our word or to break our word. The failure of democracy in Iraq would throw its people back into misery and turn that country over to terrorists who wish to destroy us. Yet democracy will succeed in Iraq, because our will is firm, our word is good, and the Iraqi people will not surrender their freedom.

Since the liberation of Iraq, we have seen changes that could hardly have been imagined a year ago. A new Iraqi police force protects the people instead of bullying them. More than 150 Iraqi newspapers are now in circulation, printing what they choose, not what they're ordered. Schools are open with textbooks free of propaganda. Hospitals are functioning and are well supplied. Iraq has a new currency, the first battalion of a new army, representative local governments, and a Governing Council with an aggressive timetable for national sovereignty. This is substantial progress, and much of it has proceeded faster than similar efforts in Germany and Japan after World War II.

Yet the violence we are seeing in Iraq today is serious, and it comes from Ba'athist holdouts and jihadists from other countries and terrorists drawn to the prospect of innocent bloodshed. It is the nature of terrorism, in the cruelty of a few, to try to bring grief in the loss to many.

The Armed Forces of both our countries have taken losses, felt deeply by our citizens. Some families now live with a burden of great sorrow. We cannot take the pain away, but these families can know they are not alone. We pray for their strength. We pray for their comfort, and we will never forget the courage of the ones they loved.

The terrorists have a purpose, a strategy to their cruelty. They view the rise of democracy in Iraq as a powerful threat to their ambitions. In this, they are correct. They believe their acts of terror against our coalition,

against international aid workers, and against innocent Iraqis will make us recoil and retreat. In this, they are mistaken.

We did not charge hundreds of miles into the heart of Iraq and pay a bitter cost of casualties and liberate 25 million people only to retreat before a band of thugs and assassins. We will help the Iraqi people establish a peaceful and democratic country in the heart of the Middle East. And by doing so, we will defend our people from danger.

The forward strategy of freedom must also apply to the Arab-Israeli conflict. It's a difficult period in a part of the world that has known many. Yet, our commitment remains firm. We seek justice and dignity. We seek a viable independent state for the Palestinian people, who have been betrayed by others for too long. We seek security and recognition for the state of Israel, which has lived in a shadow of random death for too long. These are worthy goals in themselves, and by reaching them we will also remove an occasion and excuse for hatred and violence in the broader Middle East.

Achieving peace in the Holy Land is not just a matter of the shape of a border. As we work on the details of peace, we must look to the heart of the matter, which is the need for a viable Palestinian democracy. Peace will not be achieved by Palestinian rulers who intimidate opposition, who tolerate and profit from corruption, and maintain their ties to terrorist groups. These are the methods of the old elites, who time and again had put their own self-interest above the interest of the people they claim to serve. The long-suffering Palestinian people deserve better. They deserve true leaders capable of creating and governing a Palestinian state.

Even after the setbacks and frustrations of recent months, good will and hard effort can bring about a Palestinian state and a secure Israel. Those who would lead a new Palestine should adopt peaceful means to achieve the rights of their people and create the reformed institutions of a stable democracy.

Israel should freeze settlement construction, dismantle unauthorized outposts, end the daily humiliation of the Palestinian people, and not prejudice final negotiations with the placements of walls and fences.

Arab states should end incitement in their own media, cut off public and private funding for terrorism, and establish normal relations with Israel.

Leaders in Europe should withdraw all favor and support from any Palestinian ruler who fails his people and betrays their cause. And Europe's leaders and all leaders should strongly oppose anti-Semitism, which poisons public debates over the future of the Middle East.

Ladies and gentlemen, we have great objectives before us that make our Atlantic alliance as vital as it has ever been: We will encourage the strength and effectiveness of international institutions; we will use force when necessary in the defense of freedom; and we will raise up an ideal of democracy in every part of the world. On these three pillars we will build the peace and security of all free nations in a time of danger.

So much good has come from our alliance of conviction and might. So much now depends on the strength of this alliance as we go forward. America has always found strong partners in London, leaders of good judgment and blunt counsel and backbone when times are tough. And I have found all those qualities in your current Prime Minister, who has my respect and my deepest thanks.

The ties between our nations, however, are deeper than the relationship between leaders. These ties endure because they are formed by the experience and responsibilities and adversity we have shared. And in the memory of our peoples, there will always be one experience, one central event when the seal was fixed on the friendship between Britain and the United States. The arrival in Great Britain of more than 1.5 million American soldiers and airmen in the 1940s was a turning point in the Second World War. For many Britons, it was a first close look at Americans, other than in the movies. Some of you here today may still remember the "friendly invasion."

"Our lads," they took some getting used to. There was even a saying about what many of them were up to—in addition to being "overpaid and over here." [Laughter] At a reunion in north London some years ago, an American pilot who had settled in England after his military service said, "Well, I'm still

over here and probably overpaid. So two out of three isn't bad." [Laughter]

In that time of war, the English people did get used to the Americans. They welcomed soldiers and fliers into their villages and homes and took to calling them "our boys." About 70,000 of those boys did their part to affirm our special relationship. They returned home with English brides.

Americans gained a certain image of Britain as well. We saw an island threatened on every side, a leader who did not waver, and a country of the firmest character. And that has not changed. The British people are the sort of partners you want when serious work needs doing. The men and women of this Kingdom are kind and steadfast and generous and brave. And America is fortunate to call this country our closest friend in the world.

May God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:24 p.m. in the Royal Banqueting House. In his remarks, he referred to Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Jack Straw, Secretary of State for Defense Geoffrey Hoon, Queen Elizabeth II, and Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom; Rear Adm. Richard Cobbold, director, Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies; John Chipman, director, International Institute for Strategic Studies; American magician David Blaine, who spent 44 days in isolation suspended above the River Thames; former President Saddam Hussein of Iraq; Mullah Omar, head of the deposed Taliban regime in Afghanistan; and former President Slobodan Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). The Office of the Press Secretary also released a Spanish language transcript of these remarks.

Proclamation 7737—National Farm-City Week, 2003

November 19, 2003

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

During National Farm-City Week, Americans honor the hard work of the men and women who earn a living from the land, and

we recognize the importance of their partnerships with urban communities.

Our farmers and ranchers face many challenges, including weather, crop disease, and uncertain pricing. Yet with hard work and a love of the land, they have helped America build the most productive agricultural economy in the world. This industry generates 16 percent of America's Gross Domestic Product and employs 17 percent of our workforce.

Our farmers and ranchers build and sustain this industry with the help of others. While farmers and ranchers manage almost half of our Nation's land, they need processors, shippers, retailers, food service providers, and many others to move their products from the farm to the homes of Americans and people around the world. As these cooperative networks provide us with food, clothing, and energy, they help to create a prosperous future for America and the world.

As we celebrate National Farm-City Week, I urge citizens to learn more about the American farm-city partnership and how it strengthens our country.

Now, Therefore, I, George W. Bush, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim November 21 through November 27, 2003, as National Farm-City Week. I encourage all Americans to join in recognizing the hard work, entrepreneurship, and ingenuity of those who produce and promote America's agricultural goods.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this nineteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord two thousand three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-eighth.

George W. Bush

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., November 20, 2003]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on November 21.

Remarks at a Dinner Hosted by Queen Elizabeth II in London

November 19, 2003

Your Majesty, Your Royal Highness, and distinguished guests: Laura and I are deeply honored to accept Your Majesty's gracious hospitality and to be welcomed into your home. Through the last century and into our own, Americans have appreciated the friendship of your people. And we are grateful for your personal commitment across five decades to the health and vitality of the alliance between our nations.

Of course, things didn't start out too well. [Laughter] Yet, even at America's founding, our nations shared a basic belief in human liberty. That conviction more than anything else led to our reconciliation. And in time, our shared commitment to freedom became the basis of a great Atlantic alliance that defeated tyranny in Europe and saved the liberty of the world.

The story of liberty, the story of the Magna Carta and the Declaration of Independence, continues in our time. The power of freedom has touched Asia and Latin America and Africa and beyond. And now our two countries are carrying out a mission of freedom and democracy in Afghanistan and Iraq. Once again, America and Britain are joined in the defense of our common values. Once again, American and British servicemembers are sacrificing in a necessary and noble cause. Once again, we are acting to secure the peace of the world.

The bonds between our countries were formed in hard experience. We passed through great adversity together. We have risen through great challenges together. The mutual respect and fellowship between our countries is deep and strong and permanent.

Let us raise our glasses to our common ideals, to our enduring friendships, to the preservation of our liberties, and to Her Majesty, the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:49 p.m. in the Ballroom at Buckingham Palace. The transcript released by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of Queen Elizabeth II. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

**The President's News Conference
With Prime Minister Tony Blair of
the United Kingdom in London**

November 20, 2003

Prime Minister Blair. Good afternoon, everyone. First of all, can I extend the warmest possible welcome to the President of the United States and to the First Lady to Downing Street and say how delighted I am to see them both here.

And as you would expect, I think, I would like to say some words about the latest terrorist outrage that has occurred today in Turkey. First of all, I would wish to express my deepest sympathy and condolences to the families of the victims. Some will be British; many will be Turkish citizens. I would like to express my condolences also to the Government and to the people of Turkey.

Once again we're reminded of the evil these terrorists pose to innocent people everywhere and to our way of life. Once again we must affirm that in the face of this terrorism there must be no holding back, no compromise, no hesitation in confronting this menace, in attacking it wherever and whenever we can, and in defeating it utterly.

It should not lessen, incidentally, in any way at all our commitment to Iraq. On the contrary, it shows how important it is to carry on until terrorism is defeated there as well, because it is in a free, democratic, and stable Iraq that not just the violence but the wretched and backward philosophy of these terrorists will be defeated and destroyed.

Yesterday, as some of you will have heard, the President of the United States delivered a powerful, telling speech extolling the virtues of freedom, justice, democracy, and the rule of law, not just for some people but for all the peoples of our world. Today the fanatics of terror showed themselves to be callous, brutal murderers of the innocent, and the contrast could not be more stark.

There may be some who think that Britain would gain from standing back from this struggle, even some who believe that we and the United States and our allies have somehow brought this upon ourselves. Let us be very clear: America did not attack Al Qaida on September the 11th; Al Qaida attacked America and, in doing so, attacked not just

America but the way of life of all people who believe in tolerance and freedom, justice and peace.

Say we issue for you, in the light of this latest outrage, a short summary on the casualties and cost of terrorism. It's quite interesting to see just how many countries have been affected, what the cost of terrorism is, how many thousands of people have died over this past period of time—many of the victims, incidentally, Muslim people, not least the civilians murdered in Iraq.

So this is a time to show strength, determination, and complete resolve. This terrorism is the 21st century threat. It is a war that strikes at the heart of all that we hold dear, and there is only one response that is possible or rational: to meet their will to inflict terror with a greater will to defeat it; to confront their philosophy of hate with our own of tolerance and freedom; and to challenge their desire to frighten us, divide us, unnerve us, with an unshakable unity of purpose; to stand side by side with the United States of America and with our other allies in the world to rid our world of this evil once and for all.

In the course of the discussions that President Bush and myself had yesterday and today, we also, of course, discussed many other issues, and let me just run through a few of those with you. There will be two communiques put out afterwards, one on Iraq, one on the other issues we discussed, and I can just simply list them for you.

Obviously, we discussed the situation in relation to the WTO and world trade and the issues to do with steel, with which we're familiar. We agreed a special joint task force on the issue of HIV/AIDS in relation to global health, a preoccupation of both our Governments. We, of course, discussed the issues to do with weapons of mass destruction and the threat that it poses; the Middle East and the Middle East peace process. And since we have the successive G-8 chairmanships in the next couple of years, we also discussed how we might use those to make progress on all these issues, including some of the challenging and difficult issues to do with climate change, world trade, and poverty.

So, once again, Mr. President, welcome here. It's a very, very great pleasure and

honor to have you here in our country, and we're delighted to see you. Thank you for that magnificent speech yesterday. And it's my pleasure to ask you to address this simple gathering.

President Bush. Thank you, Mr. Prime Minister. It's my honor to be standing by the side of a friend. And Laura and I were so honored to be invited by Her Majesty the Queen to come to the United Kingdom for this state visit. It's been a fantastic experience for us.

I also want to express my deep sympathy for the loss of life in Turkey. The nature of the terrorist enemy is evident once again. We see their contempt—their utter contempt—for innocent life. They hate freedom. They hate free nations. Today, once again, we saw their ambitions of murder. The cruelty is part of their strategy. The terrorists hope to intimidate. They hope to demoralize. They particularly want to intimidate and demoralize free nations. They're not going to succeed.

Great Britain, America, and other free nations are united today in our grief and united in our determination to fight and defeat this evil wherever it is found. Britain and America have shared the suffering caused by terrorism before. On September the 11th, 2001, no country except America lost more lives than Britain. Since that day, no ally has accomplished more or sacrificed more in our common struggle to end terror, and we are grateful.

Our shared work of democracy in Afghanistan and Iraq is essential to the defeat of global terrorism. The spread of freedom and the hope it brings is the surest way in the long term to combat despair and anger and resentment that feeds terror. The advance of freedom and hope in the greater Middle East will better the lives of millions of that region and increase the security of our own people.

I've just come from a meeting with families of British servicemen who were killed in Iraq. These brave men died for the security of this country and in the cause of human freedom. Our nations honor their sacrifice. I pray for the comfort of the families.

Our mission in Iraq is noble and it is necessary. No act of thugs or killers will change our resolve or alter their fate. A free Iraq

will be free of them. We will finish the job we have begun.

Together, Great Britain and the United States met the defining challenges of the last century. Together, we're meeting new challenges, challenges that have come to our generation. In all that lies ahead in the defense of freedom and the advance of democracy, our two nations will continue to stand together.

I'm honored to be here, Mr. Prime Minister. I thank you for your leadership and your friendship.

Prime Minister Blair. We'll take three questions from British journalists, three questions from U.S. journalists. Andy, you start us off.

Timetable for Iraq

Q. Andy Marr from the BBC. Could I ask both leaders about the agenda on Iraq? You are both engaged in an unpredictable and dangerous war, as we've seen today. And yet, you say you want to bring the troops home starting from next year. Now, how is that possible when the security situation is still so unresolved? You haven't got Saddam Hussein. Aren't you stuck in Iraq, with your enemies holding the exit door?

President Bush. I said that we're going to bring our troops home starting next year? What I've said is that we'll match the security needs with the number of troops necessary to secure Iraq. And we're relying upon our commanders on the ground to make those decisions.

Q. So you'll keep a certain number of troops in Iraq for a longer time?

President Bush. We could have less troops in Iraq; we could have the same number of troops in Iraq; we could have more troops in Iraq, what is ever necessary to secure Iraq.

Prime Minister Blair. Let me make it absolutely clear for our position as well. We stay until the job gets done. And what this latest terrorist outrage shows us is that this is a war; its main battleground is Iraq. We have got to make sure we defeat these terrorists, the former Saddam people in Iraq, and we must do that because that is an essential

part of defeating this fanaticism and extremism that is killing innocent people all over our world today.

And I can assure you of one thing, that when something like this happens today, our response is not to flinch or give way or concede one inch. We stand absolutely firm until this job is done—done in Iraq, done elsewhere in the world.

President Bush. Andy, if I may have a followup to—it's kind of a new thing, a followup to the answer. One thing that's happening that you need to know that will help us make the necessary calculations for troop levels is that there's a lot of Iraqis beginning to be trained to deal with the issue on the ground. There's Iraqis being trained for an army. There's Iraqis being trained for an intelligence service. There's Iraqis being trained for additional police work. There are Iraqis being trained for asset protection. There are Iraqis being trained for border guards. There's over 130,000 Iraqis now who have been trained, who are working for their own security. So part of the answer to your question is how fast the new brigades of Iraqi army are stood up, how effective they are.

We believe that the Iraqi citizens want to be free. We know that they're willing to work for their own freedom. And the more people working for their own freedom, the more we can put that into our calculations as to troop levels.

Thank you for letting me butt in there, again.

Tom.

Terrorist Attacks/Transition Plan for Iraq

Q. Tom Raum from the Associated Press. For both of you, Mr. President, Mr. Prime Minister, do the attacks today, do you view them as a direct attack on the alliance? And does the fact that these attacks are coming sort of with an increasing intensity and randomness, does that make it less likely that you'll be able to turn over sovereignty to an Iraqi council by June?

President Bush. Well, first of all, in Iraq, we're working on two tracks. We're working on a political track, and we believe that the timetable that the Governing Council has set for itself is an accurate timetable. And we'll

work with the Governing Council to turn over sovereignty.

It's their decision, and we agreed with their decision, based upon the conditions on the ground. And some of those conditions were the fact that there wasn't the sectarian violence that was predicted. Iraq remained intact. There wasn't the mass of refugee flows that had been predicted. There wasn't starvation that had been predicted. In other words, the conditions on the ground were such that the Governing Council felt like they could move forward in a constructive way, and we supported that.

Secondly, these terrorist attacks are attacks on freedom, and they attack when they can. And our job is to secure our homelands and chase down these killers and bring them to justice. And we're making good progress with Al Qaida. And if you were to view Al Qaida's organization structure as kind of a board of directors and then there would be the operating management, we are dismantling the operating management, one person at a time. We're on an international manhunt.

That's why relations and cooperation between our intelligence services are essential to secure the people of our respective countries. And I will tell you, the Prime Minister's cooperation has just been unbelievably good, as has the intelligence service of Great Britain, a fine group of people, by the way, people who are dedicating their lives to the security of the people of this great country. And the more we share intelligence with other nations, the more likely it is that we'll be able to rout out these terrorists.

That's why the phone call I had with Prime Minister Erdogan was an important phone call, when I assured him we're willing to work with the Turkish Government, as are the Brits willing to work with the Turkish Government, to share information and to find these killers so they don't kill again.

I don't know the nature of the casualties today, but I do know the nature of the casualties in the recent attack in Istanbul. More Muslims died in that attack. These are Al Qaida killers killing Muslims, and they need to be stopped, and we will stop them.

Prime Minister Blair. See, here's where we got to—we've got to see what this struggle is about, because you can see it clearer and

clearer day-by-day. This is a struggle between fanaticism and extremism on the one hand and people who believe in freedom and in tolerance on the other. And these attacks have been building for years. They came to their height, okay, on September the 11th, but that actually wasn't the first attack that Al Qaida was perpetrating against America and other countries. And you look round the world today, and I tell you, in virtually every place there is trouble and difficulty, these terrorists and fanatics are making it worse, whether it's Kashmir, whether it's Palestine, whether it's Chechnya, wherever it is. And they're prepared to kill anyone. They're prepared to shed any amount of bloodshed, because they know how important this battle is.

And here's why Iraq is important in this; because in the end, their case, which is based on dividing people—the Arab world and the Western world, the Muslim world and the Christian world and other religions—their case is that we are in Iraq to suppress Muslims, steal their oil, to spoil the country. Now, we know you know that all those things are lies. They know, therefore, that if we manage to get Iraq on its feet as a stable, prosperous, democratic country, the blow we strike is not just one for the Iraqi people; it is the end of that propaganda. And that's why they're fighting us.

And when you say, is this attack today directed at our alliance? It's directed at anybody who stands in the way of this fanaticism. And that's why our response has got to be to say to them, as clearly as we possibly can, "You are not going to defeat us because our will to defend what we believe in is actually, in the end, stronger, better, more determined than your will to inflict damage on innocent people."

And that's what this whole thing is about. That's why when I hear people talking about the alliance between our two countries, this is not an alliance that's based on simply Britain and America and the ties that go back in history and all the rest of it. This is a real living alliance about the struggle going on today, in the early 21st century. And if we don't win this struggle, it's not just Britain and America that's going to suffer. People

everywhere are going to suffer, and that's why it's important.

If they think that when they go and kill people by these terrorist attacks, they are going to somehow weaken us or make us think, "Well, let's shuffle to the back of the queue and hide away from this," they are wrong. That is not the tradition of my country, and it's not the tradition of the British people or the American people.

Adam [Adam Boulton, Sky News].

British Detainees at Guantanamo Bay

Q. What do you say to those people, both those who support what your two Governments have done since September 11th and those who oppose it, that in fact the treatment of the captives in Guantanamo Bay actually belies all your talk of freedom, justice, and tolerance? And on a specific point, in view of the comments from the Secretary of State and from Charles Kennedy and Michael Howard, is there on the minority of British nationals held captive an explicit offer from the United States to repatriate them? And if that depends on a request from you, Prime Minister, are you prepared to make it now?

Prime Minister Blair. First of all, let me just deal with the very specific issue of the British nationals over in Guantanamo Bay. We are in discussion about this. I've already said in the House of Commons it will be resolved in one of two ways. Either they will be tried by the military commission out there, or alternatively, they'll be brought back here. Now, we're in discussion at the moment——

Q. How——

Prime Minister Blair. It will be resolved at some point or other. It's not going to be resolved today, but it will be resolved at some point soon.

Let me just say this to you, however, about Guantanamo Bay. Indeed, the people that are there—again, let's just remember, this arose out of the battle in Afghanistan, that arose out of September the 11th and the attack there. And the very fact that we are in discussion about making sure there are fair procedures for trial—or alternatively, it's up to us, as the President very fairly has said,

these people come back here—is an indication that we actually treat people differently. So even though this arose out of this appalling, brutal attack on America on September the 11th, nonetheless, we make sure that justice is done for people.

President Bush. These are—justice is being done. These are illegal noncombatants picked up off of a battlefield, and they are being treated in a humane fashion. And we are sorting through them on a case-by-case basis. There is a court procedure in place that will allow them to be tried in fair fashion. As to the issue of the British citizens, we're working with the British Government.

Randy [Randall Mikkelsen, Reuters].

Trade Policy/The Doha Round

Q. Mr. President and Mr. Blair, how accurate would it be to conclude that the new China trade quotas, along with a weakening dollar and your disagreement with the WTO on steel, altogether constitute a reelection strategy of boosting U.S. exports at the expense of free trade principles?

And Mr. Blair, I'd like to know how these policies are affecting Europe and the U.K.

Prime Minister Blair. Mr. President, you should answer that one first. [Laughter]

President Bush. My administration is committed to free trade—the first administration in a long time to achieve trade promotion authority from the Congress. And we're using that to promote free trade agreements on a bilateral basis, on a hemispheric basis. And we're strongly advocating a successful round for the—the Doha round of the WTO.

Secondly, free trade agreements require people honoring the agreements. And there are market disruptions involved with certain Chinese textiles; we're addressing those disruptions. And we look forward to visiting with our Chinese counterparts on this particular matter. And as I have been saying publicly, that free trade also requires a level playing field for trade.

In terms of the steel issue, it's an issue that the Prime Minister has brought up not once, not twice, but three times. It's on his mind. It's also on my mind. And I'm reviewing the findings about the restructuring of our steel industry, which is—the ITC ruling

basically said that the industry needs some breathing time to restructure. I'm looking at the findings right now and will make a timely decision.

But I will reiterate, we believe strongly in free trade. We just want to make sure that free trade is also trade in which all parties are treated fairly.

Prime Minister Blair. Obviously, we've stated opposition. I know the President is well aware of it, and as you just heard, the administration will make its decision in the coming period of time.

The other thing I would draw your attention to is the joint belief in the importance of the WTO doing well and getting the deadlock that there was at Cancun resolved. That's immensely important.

And never forget, incidentally—I said this in the House of Commons yesterday—whatever the disagreements on trade between Europe and America—and ever since I've been Prime Minister there have been such disagreements on particular issues—trade between Europe and America is vast. In fact, I think it is right to say it has doubled since 1989. It amounts to a huge amount of money and jobs both ways every single year. So that's not to say we don't have to resolve these issues, and I hope we can resolve them soon, but I don't think we should forget the bigger picture, either.

Nick.

London Demonstrations/War on Terror

Q. Nick Robinson, ITV News. What do you say to people who today conclude that British people have died and been maimed as a result of you appearing here today, shoulder-to-shoulder with a controversial American President?

And Mr. President, if I could ask you, with thousands on the street—with thousands marching on the streets today here in London, a free nation, what is your conclusion as to why apparently so many free citizens fear you and even hate you?

President Bush. I'd say freedom is beautiful. It's a fantastic thing to come to a country where people are able to express their views.

Q. Why do they hate you, Mr. President? Why do they hate you in such numbers?

President Bush. I don't know that they do. All I know is that it's—that people in Baghdad, for example, weren't allowed to do this up until recent history. They're not spending a lot of time in North Korea protesting the current leadership. Freedom is a wonderful thing, and I respect that. I fully understand people don't agree with war. But I hope they agree with peace and freedom and liberty. I hope they care deeply about the fact that when we find suffering and torture and mass graves, we weep for the citizens that are being brutalized by tyrants.

And finally, the Prime Minister and I have a solemn duty to protect our people, and that's exactly what I intend to do as the President of the United States, protect the people of my country.

Prime Minister Blair. To answer your first question and your other, indeed, people have the right to protest and to demonstrate in our countries, and I think that's part of our democracy. And all I say to people is—and this is the importance, I think, of the speech the President made yesterday—listen to our case as well. I mean, we listen. That's what a democratic exchange should be about, but listen to the case that we are making.

Because there is something truly bizarre about a situation where we have driven the Taliban out of Government in Afghanistan, who used to stop women going about the street as they wished, who used to prevent girls going to school, who brutalized and terrorized their population, there's something bizarre about having got rid of Saddam in Iraq from the Government of Iraq, when we've already discovered just so far the remains of 400,000 people in mass graves—there is something bizarre about these situations happening and people saying that they disagree, when the effect of us not doing this would be that the Taliban was still in Afghanistan and Saddam was still in charge of Iraq. And I think people have got to accept that that is the consequence of the position therein.

Now, as for your first point, just let me say this. What has caused the terrorist attack today in Turkey is not the President of the United States, is not the alliance between America and Britain. What is responsible for that terrorist attack is terrorism, are the ter-

rorists. And our response has got to be to unify in that situation, to put the responsibility squarely on those who are killing and murdering innocent people, and to say, "We are going to defeat you, and we're not going to back down or flinch at all from this struggle." For all the reasons I've given you earlier, this is what this struggle is about.

And when you look—as you can see from the list of the people from 60 different nationalities who have died in terrorist attacks, thousands of people from every religion, every part of the world, you aren't going to stop these people by trying to compromise with them, by hesitating in the face of this menace. It's defeat them or be defeated by them. That's what we're going to do.

Religion/Shared Values

Q. Thank you, Mr. President, Mr. Prime Minister. Mr. President, when you talk about peace in the Middle East, you've often said that freedom is granted by the Almighty. Some people who share your beliefs don't believe that Muslims worship the same Almighty. I wondered about your views on that.

And Mr. Prime Minister, as a man also of faith, I'd like to get your reaction to that.

President Bush. I do say that freedom is the Almighty's gift to every person. I also condition it by saying freedom is not America's gift to the world. It's much greater than that, of course. And I believe we worship the same God.

Prime Minister Blair. And I believe that if people are given the chance to have freedom, whatever part of the world they're in, whatever religion they practice, whatever faith they have, if they're given the chance to have freedom, they welcome it. And I think it is the most appalling delusion that actually affects some people even within our own societies that somehow, though we in our countries love freedom and would defend freedom, somehow other people in other parts of the world don't like it.

And the reason why they like freedom is because then, if you've got freedom and democracy and the rule of law, you can raise your family, you can earn a decent standard of living, you can go about your daily business without fear of the secret police or terrorism. And in those types of societies, the terrorists

who thrive on hatred and fanaticism, they get no breathing ground, they get no breathing space.

And the really important thing—and I just wanted to say this about the President's speech yesterday, because I hope—people sometimes say to me, "Well, you've got a Republican President, a center-left Government here in Britain, how can you two guys work together?" On this issue, I believe people from whatever side of the political spectrum they're on can respond to the call, that in the end, the best security we can have is not just through our armed forces and intelligence services, magnificent though they are, but actually through our values, through the spread of those values of freedom and justice and tolerance throughout the world.

And the case the President made yesterday, I think, is a really powerful call, not just to people in our own countries but to people right throughout the world, that these are basic human values. They're not the—in the ownership exclusively of America or Britain or the West or any particular religion; they're human values. And actually, every time you give people the chance to have those values, they opt for them. Of course they do, because they're the values that sustain the human spirit.

NOTE: The President's news conference began at 12:15 p.m. at the Foreign and Commonwealth Offices, 10 Downing Street. In his remarks, the President referred to Queen Elizabeth II of the United Kingdom; former President Saddam Hussein of Iraq; and Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan of Turkey. A reporter referred to Charles Kennedy, leader of the Liberal Democrats party of the United Kingdom; and Michael Howard, leader of the Conservative Party of the United Kingdom.

Effective Multilateralism To Build a Better World: Joint Statement by President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Tony Blair
November 20, 2003

President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Tony Blair reaffirm the unique alliance of values and common purpose that binds the United States and the United Kingdom. We confront great challenges: global

terrorism, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, poverty and disease, and hostile dictators who oppress their own people and threaten peace. We, and our allies among the world's democracies, have a special responsibility to take action and mobilize international institutions to meet these challenges and build a more secure, just, and prosperous world.

We applaud the achievements of the Transatlantic Alliance, the foundation of our security, under whose aegis Europe whole, free, and at peace is becoming reality. We welcome NATO's major and growing role in Afghanistan, and its support for the Polish-led multinational division in Iraq. We welcome NATO's new cooperation with Russia, Ukraine, and other members of the Partnership for Peace. We reaffirm our support for a European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) of the European Union that improves Europe's capabilities to act, and develops in a way that is fully coordinated, compatible, and transparent with NATO. We seek a dynamic, mutually-reinforcing relationship between NATO and the EU, without duplication and divisiveness, and grounded in the essential NATO-EU agreements which underpin it. With new members and new capabilities, NATO will be a cornerstone of world security in the 21st century.

We urge all nations to join together in common purpose, to put aside temporary disagreements, and to recognize our responsibility to work for the common good in the world. Our tasks are great, but so are our capabilities, when we work together.

Effective multilateralism, and neither unilateralism nor international paralysis, will guide our approach. We must:

- Launch efforts to promote freedom in the nations of the greater Middle East. We have a vision of this region moving toward peace through freedom. We cannot sacrifice our commitment to democracy to purchase security, for in that case we shall have neither. We applaud those in the region striving to advance human rights and economic freedom, fight corruption, and advance equal justice under law. The leaders of the Transatlantic community and the G8 must find new ways to cooperate with

the people and states of the region to promote democratic development, economic freedom, and security, over the years that true transformation will take. We will work in partnership with those leaders in the region who are promoting political and economic reform and development.

We reaffirm our commitment to the vision of peace between two states—Israel and Palestine—living side by side in peace and security. The Roadmap to peace remains the way to achieve this vision, and we call on all parties to fulfill their obligations under its terms, taking effective action to stop all terrorism, and refraining from steps that would prevent or prejudge the terms of a final settlement. To this end, we will remain actively involved with the leaders of the region and work closely with the international community.

- Continue the fight against international terrorism. What we have begun we will finish. Terrorists must know no sanctuary, neither in the mountains of Afghanistan or Iraq, nor hidden in the cities of Europe or America, nor disguised as freedom fighters or charities. We will continue to enhance our joint, bilateral work, internationally and through strengthened domestic cooperation.
- Strengthen global efforts against proliferators of weapons of mass destruction. We must increase international capacity and will to deal effectively with this threat. We will intensify efforts to counter both Iran's and also North Korea's dangerous nuclear programs; and also strengthen the basis for multilateral counter-proliferation and non-proliferation actions, including through the Proliferation Security Initiative and through our upcoming G8 Presidencies.
- Promote global health. Fighting the global HIV/AIDS pandemic requires sustained international effort, coordination, and resources. The U.S. and UK will work together to strengthen efforts in prevention, treatment, care, and support, beginning in five African countries. To further this collaborative effort,

we will establish a Special Joint Task Force on HIV/AIDS. This Task Force will focus our national efforts, and enlist the efforts of others, aimed at the struggle against HIV/AIDS. We will pursue a comprehensive approach to expanding the delivery of HIV/AIDS prevention, care and treatment, including greater access to safe and effective medicines, better health system delivery, and building a skilled force of health workers. We share a commitment to rapidly increasing the availability of HIV treatment in the most affected countries, to reducing HIV infection rates, and to developing programs to provide care and support for those infected with, and affected by, HIV/AIDS, including orphans and vulnerable children. We call on others to join us to fulfill the G8 goal of eradication of polio by 2005.

- Support development in Africa. We reaffirm our support for Africa and for NEPAD, through the G8 Africa Action Plan. We have agreed to work to support the development of effective African mechanisms to prevent conflict and run peacekeeping operations; continue to work for a return to democratically-accountable government and the rule of law in Zimbabwe; and support the building of peace in Liberia and Sierra Leone. We will deliver on the commitments we made at Monterrey and in the Africa Action Plan to improve the effectiveness of our development assistance. We welcome the launch of the Africa Partnership Forum, expanding the international support for Africa's development. Building Africa's foundation for success is our shared goal, and we commit to support the Forum's efforts in the region. We will work through bilateral and multilateral channels to improve trade opportunities in Africa.
- Advance an open trade regime. We are committed to an open, fair, and multilateral world trading system. Recognizing that WTO Ministerial in Cancun

was a missed opportunity, we reaffirm our commitment to a successful conclusion of the WTO's Doha Development Agenda. We will work with our international partners to achieve a successful conclusion to the Round that will benefit both developed and developing countries. We call for a resumption of the negotiations, and encourage all parties to make serious and substantial contributions to these important negotiations.

- Increase technological cooperation on cleaner energy. We will bring together our scientific and technological strengths to accelerate development of practical and efficient technologies for the use and production of clean energy. To help improve human health by reducing pollution, and address the challenge of climate change by mitigating greenhouse gases, we have established a joint team to implement the energy, science and technology commitments from Evian through both of our G8 Presidencies.
- Deepen defense cooperation. We will work to remove barriers to increased defense industrial cooperation, interoperability, and information exchange. Our goals include achieving fair and consistent reciprocal access to each other's equipment markets, maximizing information sharing, and extending joint working and training opportunities. We will create a closer and more open relationship by the removal of outdated barriers between our armed forces and officials. We consider it a high priority to implement a licensing exemption that will facilitate defense trade between our countries. We reaffirm our strong commitment to proceed with the Joint Strike Fighter project.
- Promote innovative education initiatives. We are committed to increasing the number and quality of U.S.-UK school partnerships. To this end, we are inaugurating a new annual prize—the Transatlantic Education Prize—to reward schools for particularly creative and innovative partnerships. The first prizes will be awarded early next year

and will include reciprocal visits for head teachers and principals.

NOTE: An original was not available for verification of the content of this joint statement.

Declaration on Iraq by President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Tony Blair

November 20, 2003

For the first time in decades, the Iraqi people are enjoying the taste of freedom. Iraqis are starting to rebuild their country and can look to a brighter future. They are free of Saddam Hussein and his vicious regime; they can speak freely; practice their religion; and start to come to terms with the nightmare of the last 35 years, in which hundreds of thousands of Iraqis were murdered by their own government.

But Iraq is still threatened by followers of the former regime, and by outside terrorists who are helping them. The struggle is difficult. Yet we shall persevere to ensure that the people of Iraq will prevail, with the support of the new and strengthening Iraqi security forces: the police, the Iraqi Civil Defense Corps, the Facility Protection Service, the border police, and the New Iraqi Army. We salute the courage of those Iraqis and the coalition forces engaged in the struggle against reactionary elements in Iraq who want to turn back the clock to the dark days of Saddam's regime.

We reaffirm the resolve of our two countries, with many friends and allies, to complete the process of bringing freedom, security, and peace to Iraq.

We warmly welcome the Iraqi Governing Council's announcement of a timetable for the creation of a sovereign Iraqi Transitional Administration by the end of June 2004, and for a process leading to the adoption of a permanent constitution and national elections for a new Iraqi government by the end of 2005.

This announcement is consistent with our long-stated aim of handing over power to Iraqis as quickly as possible. It is right that Iraqis are making these decisions and for the first time in generations determining their own future. We welcome the Governing

Council's commitment to ensuring the widest possible participation in the Transitional Assembly and constitutional process.

We reaffirm our long-term commitment to Iraq. The United States and United Kingdom stand ready to support the Transitional Administration in its task of building a new Iraq and its democratic institutions. Our military participation in the multinational force in Iraq will serve the Iraqi people until the Iraqis themselves are able to discharge full responsibility for their own security. At the same time, we hope that international partners will increasingly participate in the multinational force.

Our long-term political, moral, and financial commitment to the reconstruction of Iraq was underlined at the Madrid Donors Conference last month. Although the Coalition Provisional Authority will come to an end once the Transitional Administration is installed, the United States and United Kingdom will continue to provide assistance as part of the international support effort. In these tasks, we welcome the involvement of other nations, regardless of earlier differences; of the United Nations and the International Financial Institutions; and of the many non-governmental organizations who are able to make an important contribution.

Great challenges remain in Iraq. But the progress we have made this year has been enormous. Iraqis no longer live in fear of their own government, and Iraq's neighbors no longer feel threatened. Our resolve to complete the task we set ourselves remains undiminished. Our partnership with the Iraqi people is for the long-term.

NOTE: An original was not available for verification of the content of this joint statement.

Interview With Abdul Rahman Al-Rashed of Al-Sharq Al-Awsat in London

November 19, 2003

Mr. Al-Rashed. I know you are the busiest person—

The President. Thanks for coming by. I appreciate your interest. I'm honored you'd come by.

Timetable for Transition in Iraq

Mr. Al-Rashed. Mr. President, I think the question, number one, I have to ask is, now you're talking about transferring the power from the coalition now to the Governing Council sometime in the summer. What is exactly your timetable for that?

The President. Well, it really depends upon the Governing Coalition. They've expressed a desire for the transfer of authority in June. There are certain benchmarks that must be achieved. But let me just give you a kind of a broader assessment.

We—Ambassador Bremer came to the United States, as you know, gosh, I think it must have been a week ago or 10 days ago. And we sat down and made a conscious decision to listen to the voices on the Governing Council that were interested in accelerating the transfer of sovereignty, and we decided to—obviously if that's what they're interested in, that we needed to assess whether or not it was possible. The assessment was positive. And therefore, Jerry Bremer went back to the Governing Council and worked out a timetable that they're comfortable with. And that's very important.

As you know, one of the—initially the thought was to have a constitution written, then elections, then sovereignty. It was going to take a while to write the constitution, because there was a sentiment amongst the people that there needed to be elections to a constitutional assembly. And yet, because certain things had happened, the transfer of sovereignty seemed more realistic at this point in time than it did initially. And I could cite some of those in a minute. And so the idea was to have kind of a standard law under which the Iraqi people would operate, transfer of sovereignty, and then a constitution be written.

And as you know, the Governing Council is now in the process of—you asked the timetable—one of the decisions they must make is what will be the form of the kind of the local elections or caucuses that will then determine the makeup of the initial kind of representative body. That's their decision. And it's important for me to emphasize "their" decision, because we believe—and still believe—believed and believe that the Iraqi

people are plenty capable of running their own country, a free country.

Mr. Al-Rashed. But who are we going to hand it over to—let's say, if you start in the summer, are we saying the summer is accurate?

The President. Yes, I think so. That's exactly what we're aiming for now.

Mr. Al-Rashed. Who is going to go for without, of course, the constitution, without a—

The President. Well, there's going to be kind of a general law that will be agreed upon before by the Governing Council so that people know that their rights will not be trampled, that there will be—that the minority populations will have a voice in the future Government. In other words, there has to be something other than a constitution, because the constitution it looked like was going to take a long time to write—but something that would have basic rights guaranteed, a preceding document to what eventually will be the constitution. And so that's part of what the Governing Council agreed to do.

Mr. Al-Rashed. But your vision, you think it's going to be one person, a President would be—

The President. My vision doesn't matter. That's important for you and your readers to know. What matters is the vision of the Iraqi people. And I've said in my speeches that I believe in democracy, but I recognize that democracy can come in different forms and democracies will not look like America's democracy necessarily. So there's ways to get to a system in which minority rights are represented, a rule of law prevails, all the systems inherent in democratic form. And they come in different ways, as you know, in particular in the Middle East or throughout the Arab world.

In my speech today, which I don't know if you heard it or not—

Mr. Al-Rashed. Not yet.

The President. You've got to hear it—please.

Mr. Al-Rashed. I will, indeed.

The President. Okay, because it's important for you to hear because I think it gives you some insights into my thinking in my heart about the Arab people and the Muslim

people. I said in my speech, there are—I said one of the things that the Western world has to do is change its way of thinking about the Muslim world or the Arab world. And that is that—some will say, "Oh, these kind of people can't manage, can't govern themselves." I completely disagree. And one of the points I point out is that half the Muslims live under democratic societies, and they're contributing citizens. And those societies have got different ways of dealing with democracy. And Iraq's democracy will emerge in a uniquely Iraqi fashion. And that's what I'm trying to say.

Mr. Al-Rashed. So we don't know in the summer it's one President or a governing council, elected—

The President. And that's fine. Because a system is emerging. And that's what's important to know. But the Iraqi Governing Council, the Iraqi people will make that decision.

Withdrawal of Coalition Forces/Coalition Strategy

Mr. Al-Rashed. Are we saying—will that follow by withdrawing troops, American troops from—

The President. No—two separate courses. I'm sorry to interrupt you; I'm anticipating your questions in the name of time.

Mr. Al-Rashed. No, that's the question—

The President. We're talking two separate tracks. The political track is developing, and it's developing well, because certain things didn't happen. One, there was no great huge refugee flows. Two, there wasn't the sectarian violence. Remember, these were all—some of the predictions. I'm not suggesting you were making these predictions, but others might have been making predictions about sectarian violence—you remember that prediction—or refugee flows or hunger, food shortages throughout the country. And none of that happened.

But obviously, what is happening is violence that we're dealing with, and that's a security issue. But the political process is moving forward, and the ministries are now being staffed. There is a local region—local governments up and running. There's a variety of indicators that the system is moving

toward this democratic transition, which the Governing Council recognizes and supports. So that's happening.

The other track, of course, is the security track. They're not mutually exclusive, of course. But in terms of our participation, we will stay until Iraq is allowed to emerge as a free society, which we know will happen.

Let me give you kind of the strategy. See, I said in my speech today, the Iraqi people will not reject freedom, and I believe that. And one way that they will protect their freedoms is to develop the forces necessary, internally, to work with coalition forces to deal with the few that are trying to destroy the hopes of the many. And I think we have over 130,000 now, Iraqis, in one kind of uniform or another. That would be your border guards, your facilities protection services, the police. And we've got a battalion in the army, and we're growing the army. I think they think it will be up around 30,000 by the end of next year, a trained, capable Iraqi army. And the first task, of course, for these uniformed Iraqi personnel is to rout out the killers, people willing to destroy.

I had a very interesting meeting—I'm sure you read about the 17 Iraqi women who came, that came to the White House. It was really, really interesting, a hopeful meeting, very capable women, anxious for a free society to emerge. And one lady made it clear to me that, "Yes, you've lost people, but we've lost a lot." And the Iraqi people are suffering and are dying, because people are trying to terrorize their society by killing them. And the Iraqi people will reject this because they yearn for freedom, just like you yearn for freedom and I yearn for freedom.

Mr. Al-Rashed. Mr. President, am I getting this right, you will not have any withdrawal of any troops by the summer?

The President. No. We will have troops on the ground that will match the security needs, is the best way to put that.

Mr. Al-Rashed. So you're not saying more or less?

The President. I'm saying I'm going to listen to the generals who say, Mr. President, we need more; we need less; we've got exactly the right number. They will tell me the number. Their job is to secure—is to work with the Iraqis to deal with the terrorists.

And there are the Ba'athist terrorists; there jihadists; there are Al Qaida types, Ansar Islam types. And their job is to help the Iraqis secure their country, and they assess all the time, the commanders, and they say, we need this number here; we need that number here. And it's their decision to make. I set the goal; they decide the tactics.

So General Abizaid—if you want to know what the troop strength will look like in June, go find General Abizaid, and he'll tell you.

Timetable for Transition in Iraq

Mr. Al-Rashed. Are we saying that you are doing the transfer of power earlier than planned because the pressure, because of the loss of life, the French, everybody—

The President. No, no, no, no, no, no, no, no. Because what I told you, that the Governing Council—the circumstances—the situation in Iraq and the Governing Council's progress led us to believe that this transfer of sovereignty could take place in a realistic and helpful way.

Mr. Al-Rashed. So do you expect the violence—do you have a number, like, of loss of life will determine how you will run your—

The President. Of course not. We're not leaving until we get the job done.

Mr. Al-Rashed. How long is that and how—

The President. That's like if you were interviewing me before the attack on Baghdad, you would have said, "How long is it going to take?" And I would have said, "However long," you know. I mean, you're asking me to put calendars on things—this is the second calendar question you've asked me.

Iraq and Vietnam

Mr. Al-Rashed. Some people make a parallel between Iraq and Vietnam. Do you see it?

The President. I know that people are anxious to be free. They were glad to get rid of Saddam Hussein. They were pleased when his sons met their demise. This person tortured, brutalized an entire population. And it's a different situation.

Mr. Al-Rashed. I didn't hear the word "Vietnam" in your answer.

The President. No, because—I gave you the answer; you asked the question. You asked me if there's parallel. I said it's a different situation. You understand the difference here, the people——

Mr. Al-Rashed. Yes.

The President. Okay. You know what I'm talking about. The people are pleased to get rid of Saddam.

Progress in Iraq

Mr. Al-Rashed. Mr. President, is it accurate to say that your military did a good job and they won the war in a very quite short and surprising matter, but your civilian managers did not manage the country very well?

The President. I think what's safe to say is that the initial phase of the war went well, and the second phase of the war is going as expected, because Ba'athists—there are some people who refuse to give up and yield to freedom because they were the ruling elite. And we're making, in many phases, very strong progress.

For example, the currency—I think if you were to go back and look at the history of currency replacements or issuing new currencies, that's not an easy task. And yet——

Mr. Al-Rashed. ——President Saddam, his face on the currency——

The President. No, they've got new currencies, and that's hard to do. And yet, we're making good, steady progress in replacing the currency.

The oil revenue is an interesting question. Again, this was an issue, if you remember, before the—when the ultimatum was reached, there was a lot of speculation that if we went to war, the Iraqi—the main asset of the Iraqi people would be destroyed, and it would take years to bring the oil production back up. But in fact, the oil is flowing, up to about 2.1 million barrels a day, to the benefit of the Iraqi people.

In other words—and we got that ministry stood up very quickly, and it's functioning well. The school system—I think there's 1,500 elementary schools up and running with new textbooks and supplies. The hospitals—I mean, there's example after example on the civil society side where we've made good progress.

Obviously, what is—what's tough are the terrorists who kill, and they kill Iraqis. They kill international aid workers. They kill because they're trying to shake our will. And they're not going to shake—they're not going to shake our will.

Possible Visit to Iraq

Mr. Al-Rashed. Are you going to visit Baghdad?

The President. I don't know yet. Will I at some point in time? I certainly hope so.

Mr. Al-Rashed. Before election or——

The President. [Laughter] I don't know. I'm just trying to finish my trip here to England.

Roadmap for Peace/Reform of Palestinian Authority

Mr. Al-Rashed. What about the roadmap? It's your project, but nothing has——

The President. No, it's our project.

Mr. Al-Rashed. Nothing has happened so far.

The President. Well, that's not exactly correct. I mean, it's—first of all, the roadmap exists—let me tell you, this was U.S., EU, U.N., and Russia. So it's kind of an international strategy toward saying to parties, take responsibility, be responsible citizens.

I gave a speech on June 24th, '02, in the Rose Garden, which—get on the web page and look at it, because it will give you my sense of—I hate to keep directing you to my speeches, but it will give you a sense for—and I reiterated that today. I spent quite a bit of time in the speech today on the Arab-Israeli issue. And I called on all parties to adhere to responsibility.

I said the best way for—see, I believe that the Palestinians deserve a state. As a matter of fact, I'm the first United States President to stand up and call for that. And I believe it, and I mean it. But that state must be democratic in order for it to survive, with institutions that will survive the test of time. And it needs leadership that will not steal money, that will not deal with terrorists, that will not continually dash the hopes of the Palestinian people.

And I found such a leader, I thought, in Abu Mazen. And I stood with him in Aqaba, Jordan, and as you might recall—and Israel

has got responsibilities, and the Arab states have got responsibilities. And I delineated Israel's responsibilities, end the settlements and not prejudice final negotiations on states with walls, to end the daily humiliation of the Palestinians. This was all clearly enunciated today, by the way, in the public arena.

Anyway, I was with Abu Mazen. He convinced me that he believes in the aspirations of the Palestinians, and he wanted to work on the security issue. He wanted to dismantle the security—these terrorist organizations, which are destroying any chance for peace. And guess what happens to him? He gets shoved aside, and I thought it was an interesting lesson.

We hope this new Prime Minister will stand up and do what is right, which is to work to dismantle the terrorist organizations and put the institutions in place that are larger than the people, institutions which will survive the test of time, so Palestine can emerge as a peaceful, viable, democratic state.

Anyway, so therefore—that's it, the roadmap—there is a roadmap. The roadmap calls for mutual responsibilities. I just laid the division at the end of the road, which I believe in.

Saudi Arabia/Iran/Syria

Mr. Al-Rashed. Can I ask about now, a loaded question, which is, I know it's—

The President. Well, you've already asked about five loaded questions. [*Laughter*]

Mr. Al-Rashed. It's about three countries. I'd like to hear your—exactly how you're going to treat the end of this crisis. One is Iran, how you're going to—

The President. Well, it depends on Iran's decision—

Mr. Al-Rashed. —on Syria, and finally your friends in Saudi Arabia.

The President. Yes. Well, first of all, let's start with Saudi Arabia. Crown Prince Abdullah is an honest man, and he is a friend of mine. I like him and respect him. And he has told me that we are joined at fighting off the terrorist organizations which threatened the Kingdom and they threaten the United States, and he's delivering. He also has told me that he's going to work on reform, and I believe him.

Iran: The choice is theirs. They must adhere to the Non-Proliferation Treaty that they agreed to. And they must be transparent and open and honest with the world about their ambitions. It looks like we're making some progress. The Secretary of State, as you know, yesterday met with ministers from European countries with this message, that we all need to speak with a unified voice that says to the Iranians, "Get rid of your nuclear weapons ambitions." And hopefully the—not hopefully—and work with the IAEA to develop a open and transparent regime with the Iranians.

Syria: Again, it's the leader of Syria's choice to make. The most important thing that he can do—oh, by the way, on the Iranians, one other point I want to make to you is that they hold Al Qaida operatives. And we would hope that those Al Qaida operatives were sent back to their countries of origin.

Mr. Al-Rashed. From Iran.

The President. In Iran, yes.

Syria: We have talked to Syria before, and we still feel very strongly about the same thing, that they need to shut down the Hezbollah offices in their country, Syria.

Mr. Al-Rashed. —jihad—

The President. Hezbollah and JI, absolutely; Hamas, if there are such offices there. And they need to do a better job on their border to stop any infiltration going from Syria into Iraq with weapons and terrorists and jihadists. A peaceful Iraq is in Syria's interest. A free and peaceful Iraq is in the interest of the neighborhood. And we would hope that Syria would be cooperative in the development of a free and peaceful Iraq and not turn away from any infiltrations that might be taking place—that are taking place—from Syria into Iraq.

Mr. Al-Rashed. Does that mean you will—on Syria, is there negotiation now taking place?

The President. Well, there's—there's not much negotiation. How do you mean, negotiations?

Mr. Al-Rashed. Discussions.

The President. It's hard to negotiate—stop terror. You either stop terror or you

don't stop terror. It's not—oh, yes, they understand. They know our feelings. They do, yes.

Mr. Al-Rashed. They know it by—there is someone in between?

The President. Well, they know it because they—first, they're going to read their story, and since I'm speaking directly to you and there's nobody in between, they will hear that. Secondly, that Secretary of State Powell talked to President Asad last—early last summer, I think it was, and delivered some of this message. This is before—I say “some of it” because this is before the—well, I think he delivered all the message, if I'm not mistaken. I mean, he is—in other words, if you're saying, has anybody—has President Asad heard from my Government? Yes, Secretary of State Powell had a good talk with him.

Discussions With Prime Minister Blair of the United Kingdom

Mr. Al-Rashed. Did you promise Blair anything about the roadmap? Because there's a story yesterday about it.

The President. What do you mean, promise him anything?

Mr. Al-Rashed. Prime Minister Blair, about the roadmap. There was a story yesterday that came out—to be activated or some—

The President. We haven't talked about the roadmap. I mean, we talk about the Middle East all the time, but he hasn't said—I'm not sure what you're referring to. It seems like a lot of things are printed in the newspapers here. *[Laughter]* Not yours.

Mr. Al-Rashed. Can I just have your signature here, please?

The President. I'd love to. Thank you. Thanks for the interview.

Mr. Al-Rashed. Thank you.

The President. And what you need to do is get stationed in America again. *[Laughter]*

NOTE: The interview began at 2:50 p.m. at the American Embassy. The transcript was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 21. In his remarks, the President referred to L. Paul Bremer III, Presidential Envoy to Iraq; Gen. John P. Abizaid, USA, combatant commander, U.S. Central Command; former President Saddam Hussein of Iraq; Uday and Qusay Hussein,

sons of former President Hussein, who were killed July 22 by U.S. military forces in Mosul, Iraq; former Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) and Prime Minister Ahmed Korei of the Palestinian Authority; Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia; and President Bashar al-Asad of Syria. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this interview.

Exchange With Reporters at Sedgefield Community College in Sedgefield, United Kingdom

November 21, 2003

Terrorist Attacks in Turkey

President Bush. It was a sad day yesterday, but it's a day that reminds us all that we've got a job to do; that is to defeat terror.

Q. What did you tell Erdogan, sir?

President Bush. What?

Q. What did you tell the Turkish leader?

President Bush. I told him our prayers are with his people. I told him that we will work with him to defeat terror and that the terrorists have decided to use Turkey as a front.

Q. *[Inaudible]*—specific aid, like sending FBI agents or investigators?

President Bush. You'll see as time goes on. Both countries want to help. Obviously, we need to share intelligence. The best way to defeat Al Qaida-type killers is to share intelligence and then work with local authorities to hunt these killers down.

Great Britain has got a fantastic intelligence service, and we've got a good one as well. And we want to work with countries like Turkey to anticipate and to find killers.

War on Terror

Q. Is Turkey a new front in this war on terror?

President Bush. It sure is, two major explosions. And Iraq is a front. Turkey is a front. Anywhere where the terrorists think they can strike is a front.

Q. *[Inaudible]*—Turkish officials wanted to go and strike Al Qaida in perhaps another country or another site?

President Bush. We'll work with any country willing to fight off terror, just like Great Britain. This country is fortunate to have a Prime Minister who is clear-sighted

about the threats of the 21st century, and America is lucky to have a friend as strong as Tony Blair.

The Press

Q. Do you like having all these press around you?

President Bush. Do I like having all the press around me? Let me see here. [*Laughter*] Now, who has the final—let me ask, who has the final word, I wonder, me or the press? I love the press around me. Just take a look at this lot. Take, for example, Scott [Scott Lindlaw, Associated Press]. He thinks he's a fine runner—until he came out to the ranch—never mind. [*Laughter*]

Prime Minister Blair. I'll tell you the truth a bit later, okay? [*Laughter*]

President Bush. Yes, we like the press. A vibrant society is a society with a free press. Thank you all.

NOTE: The exchange began at 2:22 p.m. at the All-Weather Pitch. During the exchange, the President referred to Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan of Turkey. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

Remarks With Prime Minister Blair at Sedgefield Community College and an Exchange With Reporters in Sedgefield

November 21, 2003

Prime Minister Blair. I'd just like to say, first of all, how delighted we both are to be at Sedgefield School here, and how wonderful the welcome has been from all the teachers and pupils, and what a magnificent job of work they do here. I also want to express my real pride that the President of the United States of America is here in my constituency and in the northeast of England. And everyone is really thrilled to see him here and delighted at the honor his presence here does us.

The last 2 or 3 days have been an interesting time, I think, to reflect. It's been a time when—with some fairly tragic things going on in the world. It's been an opportunity for us to reflect and know that amongst the tragedy, the alliance between Great Brit-

ain—between the United States of America is an alliance that is strong and enduring, of immense importance to our two countries. And we've got to continue that alliance now.

And these terrible attacks that happen, the terrorism that we see, the destruction, the intent to take innocent life that we see around us in our world today should make us just all the more determined to do what we need to do to restore order and justice, to bring peace and freedom and democracy to people all over the world.

It's been a fantastic opportunity these last few days just to—as I say, to think about this relationship between Britain and the United States, to reflect on its history, to assess the strength of it today, and to use that strength for a better future for our two countries but also for the wider world.

Mr. President, George, you and the First Lady, Laura, have been really welcome here in the northeast. And as I say, it's been a fantastic day for people here, and we can't tell you how delighted we are to see you.

President Bush. Mr. Prime Minister, it's been a great trip. Thanks for the invitation. Thanks for the hospitality. You and Her Majesty The Queen have made this a special part of our life. And it's really good to be in your own constituency. It's clear they love you up here, which is always a good sign. [*Laughter*]

We—being with the school—the schoolkids here reminds us of our solemn responsibility to protect our people and to create the conditions necessary for peace to prevail when they become older. That's our biggest job, and yesterday's attack in Turkey reminded us that we hadn't completed our job yet.

You know, as the Prime Minister so eloquently said yesterday, the terrorists are trying to intimidate the free world. And this man will not be intimidated, and neither will I. But more importantly, the people of Great Britain won't be intimidated, and neither will the people of America. And working together, we will make the world safer and freer for boys and girls all across the world, starting with these right here.

And so, Mr. Prime Minister, it's been a fantastic trip, and we're so thrilled to have been here. Thank you for your wonderful hospitality. And we look forward to—I look

forward to our weekly phone calls to stay on the offensive against the enemy. Thank you.

I've already answered your questions, but if you've got another one——

The West's Response to Terrorism

Q. Sure, if I may. In light of the tragedy of these terrorist attacks, have your—the leaders from either Germany or France, do you find there are any indications that they're more empathetic or sympathetic to your cause? Do you feel as if there might be more aid or troops or even a stronger political alliance with those who have not agreed with you?

Prime Minister Blair. I think the important thing is that when these terrible terrorist attacks occur, there's one of two responses. People can respond either by being intimidated by it, by feeling, "Let's reduce our profile in this struggle." That's one response. Or people can respond by saying, "When we're under attack, we defend ourselves, and we go out and fight with renewed strength and determination for what we believe in."

Because when you look at what we're trying to do and trying to make sure that the world—it's not just about security; it's actually about recognizing that a world that is more free and stable and prosperous is a world that is more secure. When you recognize that that's what we're trying to do, and these people are trying by these appalling acts of terrorism against wholly innocent people, trying to prevent that world happening, then I think the response from everyone is very clear.

And I believe and hope that that is true, not just in Britain but all over Europe. Because, after all, what did we learn in Europe in our history, in the history that we share with the United States of America? And that is, when freedom is threatened in Europe, we have to fight. And the reason why you have a European Union today and we have democracy and stability and freedom in Europe is because in the face of attacks upon that freedom, we, with our allies, the United States, defended that freedom.

And so I'm sure that people in other countries in Europe will feel the same way about that. And I think you saw from the reaction, for example, in Italy, when that terrible act

of terrorism killed Italian citizens who were over in Iraq trying to make that country better, I think you could see by that reaction from people in Italy that I think there is an instinctive knowledge that when you're attacked by people, by these wicked acts, there is only one response that is possible to make, and that is to get out there and be absolutely up front and say, "We are not tolerating this. We're going to fight back."

Germany's Contribution in Afghanistan

Q. Chancellor Schroeder has said that it's nice that we're going to speed up the timetable for handing over power to the Iraqi people, but he's still not going to contribute troops or any more money. Is that a disappointment?

President Bush. Chancellor Schroeder is committing troops to Afghanistan. And it is very helpful for our coalition. Afghanistan is—obviously been a—is a recently liberated country from a barbaric regime. And Chancellor Schroeder understands that it is essential that Afghanistan be free and democratic and peaceful. And I thank him for his significant and strong contribution.

U.K.-U.S. Alliance

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, you've talked a lot about the alliance between the two countries. A lot of your critics this week have said that Britain is not getting enough out of this alliance. What do you say to that? And do you feel that you've accomplished a lot this week for Britain?

Prime Minister Blair. What I say to that is that people sometimes talk about this alliance between Britain and the United States of America as if it were some schoolcard. It isn't. It's an alliance of values. It's an alliance of common interests. It's an alliance of common convictions and beliefs. And the reason why we are standing side by side with America is not because we feel forced to; it is because we want to, because we believe that is the right place to be.

And as I was saying to you—I was discussing this with—last night and was just reflecting, when September the 11th happened, remember—obviously many, many American citizens lost their lives—this was

the worst terrorist attack against British citizens. We're in this together. And we didn't—Britain didn't go off and attack Al Qaida. We didn't start a war against these people. They came to us. And if you look right around the world at the moment, there are something like nationals from 60 different nations in the world who have lost citizens in these terrorist attacks. And it doesn't matter whether you're up front or at the back, whether you're people who have got big profile on this or a low profile. These people aren't interested in that. This is a fundamental struggle.

And so the reason we have this alliance with the United States, the reason I'm proud to have the President here, the reason why I believe the vast majority of my country is proud of the alliance with the United States, is not because there's some payback that's going to be given to us. It's not about that. It's about knowing that this is a struggle in which we're both engaged, just as in my father's generation—they knew there was a struggle in which we both had to be engaged. And thank goodness both of us were, because that's the reason we're standing in a free country today.

President Bush. Listen, thank you. One comment on that. This leader and this country are willing to take on hard tasks in the name of freedom and peace, and so is America. And by working together, we will be able to accomplish a lot in these hard things.

As I said in my comments, that we are fortunate to have friends—I'm fortunate to have a friend like Tony Blair. America is fortunate to have friends like the people of Great Britain, because the people of Great Britain have got grit and strength and determination and are willing to take on a challenge. And we're being challenged. We're challenged by killers, cold-blooded killers. And we're going to prevail. And we're more likely to prevail working together, and that's the importance of the relationship.

Listen, thank you all. It's been a wonderful time being here in this great country.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 2:56 p.m. In his remarks, he referred to Queen Elizabeth II of the United Kingdom; and Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder of Germany. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Executive Order 13318— Presidential Management Fellows Program

November 21, 2003

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including sections 3301 and 3302 of title 5, United States Code, and in order to provide for the recruitment and selection of outstanding employees for service in public sector management, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. There is hereby constituted the Presidential Management Fellows Program. The purpose of the Program is to attract to the Federal service outstanding men and women from a variety of academic disciplines and career paths who have a clear interest in, and commitment to, excellence in the leadership and management of public policies and programs. Individuals selected for the Program shall be known as Presidential Management Fellows (PMFs) or Senior Presidential Management Fellows (Senior PMFs).

Sec. 2. (a) Individuals eligible for appointment as a PMF under this order are those who, in pursuing a course of study at the graduate level, have demonstrated both exceptional ability and the commitment to which section 1 refers. Such individuals at the time of application must have received, or must expect to receive soon thereafter, an appropriate advanced degree as defined by the Director of the Office of Personnel Management (OPM).

(b) Individuals eligible for appointment as a Senior PMF under this order are those who have, through extensive work experience, demonstrated both exceptional leadership or analytical ability and the commitment to which section 1 refers.

Sec. 3. The Director of OPM shall prescribe appropriate merit-based rules for the recruitment, nomination, assessment, selection, appointment, placement, and continuing career development of fellows, including rules that:

(a) reserve to the head of a department or agency or component within the Executive Office of the President (EOP) the authority

to appoint a fellow who is to be employed in that department, agency, or component;

(b) provide for nomination by universities and colleges, through competitive selection processes, of eligible individuals for consideration for appointment as PMFs;

(c) carry out the policy of the United States to ensure equal employment opportunities for employees without discrimination because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; and

(d) ensure the application of appropriate veterans' preference criteria.

Sec. 4. (a) Fellows shall be appointed to positions in either:

(1) Schedule A of the excepted service; or

(2) an agency or component within the EOP excepted from the competitive service.

(b) Appointments under subsection (a) shall not exceed 2 years in duration unless extended by the head of the department or agency or component within the EOP, with the concurrence of the Director of OPM, for a period not to exceed 1 additional year.

(c) The following principles and policies shall govern service and tenure by fellows:

(1) responsibilities assigned to a PMF shall be consistent with the PMF's educational background and career interests, and the purposes of the Program; and responsibilities assigned to a Senior PMF shall be consistent with the Senior PMF's experience and career interests, and the purposes of the Program;

(2) continuation of a fellow's appointment shall be contingent upon satisfactory performance by the fellow throughout the fellowship appointment;

(3) except as provided in paragraph (4) of this subsection, service as a fellow shall confer no right to further Federal employment in either the competitive or excepted service upon the expiration of the fellow's appointment; and

(4) competitive civil service status may be granted to a fellow who satisfactorily completes the Program and meets such other re-

quirements as the Director of OPM may prescribe. A fellow appointed by an agency excepted from the competitive service may also be appointed to a permanent position in an excepted service agency without further competition.

Sec. 5. The Director of OPM shall provide for an orderly transition, including with respect to nominations, selection processes, and appointments, from the Presidential Management Intern Program established by Executive Order 12364 of May 24, 1982, to the Presidential Management Fellows Program established by this order. Until that transition is provided for, individuals who were selected or appointed under the provisions of Executive Order 12364 and who have not completed their scheduled periods of excepted service are hereby redesignated as Presidential Management Fellows, and continue their internships under the terms of Executive Order 12364.

Sec. 6. The Director of OPM shall prescribe such regulations as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this order.

Sec. 7. Executive Order 12364 is superseded, except as provided in section 5 of this order.

Sec. 8. This order is not intended to, and does not, create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable at law or in equity by any party against the United States, its departments, agencies, instrumentalities or entities, its officers or employees, or any other person.

George W. Bush

The White House,
November 21, 2003.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register,
10:46 a.m., November 24, 2003]

NOTE: This Executive order will be published in the *Federal Register* on November 25.

**Memorandum Waiving Prohibition
on United States Military Assistance
to Parties to the Rome Statute
Establishing the International
Criminal Court**

November 21, 2003

Presidential Determination No. 2004-09

Memorandum for the Secretary of State

Subject: Waiving Prohibition on United States Military Assistance to Parties to the Rome Statute Establishing the International Criminal Court

Consistent with the authority vested in me by section 2007 of the American Servicemembers' Protection Act of 2002 (the "Act"), title II of Public Law 107-206 (22 U.S.C. 7421 *et seq.*), I hereby:

- Determine that it is important to the national interest of the United States to waive the prohibition of section 2007(a) with respect to Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia, and Slovenia, with respect to military assistance for only certain specific projects that I have decided are needed to support the process of integration of these countries into NATO, or to support Operation ENDURING FREEDOM or Operation IRAQI FREEDOM; and
- Waive that prohibition with respect to the projects referred to above for these countries.

You are authorized and directed to report this determination and the accompanying Memorandum of Justification, prepared by my Administration, to the Congress, and to arrange for publication of this determination in the *Federal Register*.

George W. Bush

**Digest of Other
White House Announcements**

The following list includes the President's public schedule and other items of general interest an-

nounced by the Office of the Press Secretary and not included elsewhere in this issue.

November 15

In the morning, at Camp David, MD, the President had an intelligence briefing.

During the day, the President had a telephone conversation with Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan of Turkey to express condolences for the terrorist attacks in Istanbul earlier in the day.

November 16

In the afternoon, the President returned to Washington, DC.

November 17

In the morning, the President had intelligence and FBI briefings. Later, he participated in a photo opportunity with 2003 Nobel laureates.

The President announced his intention to nominate Glyn Townsend Davies for the rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service as the Political Director for the U.S. Presidency of the G-8.

The President announced his intention to nominate William Douglas Buttrey and Francis Patrick Mulvey to be members of the Surface Transportation Board.

The President announced his intention to nominate James Curtis Oberwetter to be Ambassador to Saudi Arabia.

The President announced his intention to nominate Gay Hart Gaines to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

November 18

In the morning, the President had an intelligence briefing. Later, he and Mrs. Bush traveled to London, England, arriving in the evening at Heathrow Airport, where they participated in a greeting with Charles, Prince of Wales.

In the evening, at Buckingham Palace, the President and Mrs. Bush were welcomed privately by Queen Elizabeth II and her husband, Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh, who escorted them to their suite in the palace, their residence during their visit to London.

November 19

In the morning, the President had an intelligence briefing. Later, he and Mrs. Bush participated in a welcome ceremony with Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh. Later, in the Bow Room of Buckingham Palace, they participated in the presentation of delegations and then viewed the royal collection of American memorabilia in the Picture Gallery.

Later in the morning, at the American Embassy, the President and Mrs. Bush met with family members of British victims of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. Later, the President met with U.S. Embassy employees and their family members.

In the afternoon, at Buckingham Palace, the President met separately with Conservative Party leader Michael Howard and Liberal Democrat leader Charles Kennedy.

The President announced his intention to nominate Joey Russell George to be Inspector General for Tax Administration at the Department of the Treasury.

The President announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to be members of the Board of Directors of the National Board for Education Sciences: Jonathan Baron, Elizabeth Ann Bryan, James R. Davis, Robert C. Granger, Frank Philip Handy, Eric Alan Hanushek, Caroline M. Hoxby, Gerald Lee, Roberto Ibarra Lopez, Richard James Milgram, Sally Epstein Shaywitz, Joseph K. Torgesen, and Herbert John Walberg.

The President announced his intention to appoint Sara Gear Boyd, Maria Elena Lagomasino, and Donald L. Pilling as members of the President's Commission on White House Fellowships.

The President announced his intention to designate James B. Comey as Acting Deputy Attorney General.

November 20

In the morning, the President had an intelligence briefing. Later, at Westminster Abbey, he participated in a wreath laying ceremony at the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior, followed by a tour of the abbey. He then met with families of British servicemembers who died in Iraq.

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush participated in a photo opportunity with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom and his wife, Cherie, at 10 Downing St., the Prime Minister's official residence. The President and Prime Minister Blair then had a meeting and a working lunch and later participated in a roundtable discussion on HIV/AIDS.

Later in the afternoon, at 10 Downing St., the President and Mrs. Bush participated in a visit with Prime Minister Blair and his family.

In the evening, at Winfield House, the U.S. Ambassador's residence, the President and Mrs. Bush hosted a state dinner for Queen Elizabeth II; Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh; and Charles, Prince of Wales.

The President announced his intention to nominate Ronald Edward Meisburg to be a member of the National Labor Relations Board.

The President announced his intention to nominate Stuart Wadlington Holliday to be an Alternate U.S. Representative to the Sessions of the United Nations General Assembly during his tenure of service as Alternate U.S. Representative for Special Political Affairs in the United Nations.

November 21

In the morning, the President had an intelligence briefing. Later, he and Mrs. Bush participated in a farewell ceremony with Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh. They then traveled to Sedgefield, England. While en route aboard Air Force One, the President had a telephone conversation with Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan of Turkey to express condolences for the November 20 terrorist attacks in Istanbul. In Sedgefield, the President and Mrs. Bush had tea with Prime Minister and Mrs. Blair at their home, Myrobella House.

In the afternoon, at the Dun Cow Inn, the President and Mrs. Bush had lunch with Prime Minister and Mrs. Blair and a group of the Prime Minister's constituents. Later, the President and Prime Minister Blair met with teachers and students and viewed an athletic display at Sedgefield Community College.

Later in the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush departed for Washington, DC, arriving in the evening.

The President announced his intention to nominate Jaymie Alan Durnan to be Assistant Secretary of the Army (Installations and Environment).

The President announced his intention to nominate Lawrence Thomas Di Rita to be Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs).

The President announced his intention to nominate Robert Hurley McKinney to be a member of the Advisory Board for Cuba Broadcasting.

The President announced his intention to nominate Sanford Gottesman, Diane M. Ruebling, and C. William Swank to be members of the Board of Directors of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation.

The President declared a major disaster in Puerto Rico and ordered Federal aid to supplement Commonwealth and local recovery efforts in the area struck by severe storms, flooding, mudslides, and landslides on November 10 and continuing.

The President declared a major disaster in West Virginia and ordered Federal aid to supplement State and local recovery efforts in the area struck by severe storms, flooding, and landslides on November 11 and continuing.

Nominations Submitted to the Senate

The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

Submitted November 17

W. Douglas Buttrey, of Tennessee, to be a member of the Surface Transportation Board for a term expiring December 31, 2008, vice Linda Joan Morgan, resigned.

Glyn T. Davies, of the District of Columbia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Minister-Counselor, for the rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service as the Political Director for the U.S. Presidency of the G-8.

Gay Hart Gaines, of Florida, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting for a term expiring January 31, 2010, vice Ritajeau Hartung Butterworth, term expiring.

Francis Mulvey, of Maryland, to be a member of the Surface Transportation Board for a term expiring December 31, 2007, vice Wayne O. Burkes, resigned.

James C. Oberwetter, of Texas, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

Submitted November 19

J. Russell George, of Virginia, to be Inspector General for Tax Administration, Department of the Treasury, vice David C. Williams.

Submitted November 20

Jonathan Baron, of Maryland, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the National Board for Education Sciences for a term of 3 years (new position).

Elizabeth Ann Bryan, of Texas, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the National Board for Education Sciences for a term of 4 years (new position).

James R. Davis, of Mississippi, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the National Board for Education Sciences for a term of 2 years (new position).

Robert C. Granger,
of New Jersey, to be a member of the Board
of Directors of the National Board for Edu-
cation Sciences for a term of 4 years (new
position).

Frank Philip Handy,
of Florida, to be a member of the Board of
Directors of the National Board for Edu-
cation Sciences for a term of 3 years (new
position).

Eric Alan Hanushek,
of California, to be a member of the Board
of Directors of the National Board for Edu-
cation Sciences for a term of 2 years (new
position).

Caroline M. Hoxby,
of Massachusetts, to be a member of the
Board of Directors of the National Board for
Education Sciences for a term of 4 years
(new position).

Gerald Lee,
of Pennsylvania, to be a member of the
Board of Directors of the National Board for
Education Sciences for a term of 4 years
(new position).

Roberto Ibarra Lopez,
of Texas, to be a member of the Board of
Directors of the National Board for Edu-
cation Sciences for a term of 2 years (new
position).

Richard James Milgram,
of New Mexico, to be a member of the Board
of Directors of the National Board for Edu-
cation Sciences for a term of 3 years (new
position).

Sally Epstein Shaywitz,
of Connecticut, to be a member of the Board
of Directors of the National Board for Edu-
cation Sciences for a term of 3 years (new
position).

Joseph K. Torgesen,
of Florida, to be a member of the Board of
Directors of the National Board for Edu-
cation Sciences for a term of 4 years (new
position).

Herbert John Walberg,
of Illinois, to be a member of the Board of
Directors of the National Board for Edu-
cation Sciences for a term of 3 years (new
position).

Stuart W. Holliday,
of Texas, to be an Alternate Representative
of the United States of America to the Ses-
sions of the General Assembly of the United
Nations during his tenure of service as Alter-
nate Representative of the United States of
America for Special Political Affairs in the
United Nations.

Ronald E. Meisburg,
of Virginia, to be a member of the National
Labor Relations Board for the term of 5 years
expiring August 27, 2008, vice Rene Acosta,
resigned.

Submitted November 21

Joseph Max Cleland,
of Georgia, to be a member of the Board
of Directors of the Export-Import Bank of
the United States for a term expiring January
20, 2007, vice Dorian Vanessa Weaver, term
expired.

Ann M. Corkery,
of Virginia, to be an Alternate Representative
of the United States of America to the 58th
Session of the General Assembly of the
United Nations.

Lawrence T. Di Rita,
of Michigan, to be an Assistant Secretary of
Defense, vice Victoria Clarke.

Jaymie Alan Durnan,
of New Hampshire, to be an Assistant Sec-
retary of the Army, vice Mario P. Fiori.

April H. Foley,
of New York, to be First Vice President of
the Export-Import Bank of the United States
for the remainder of the term expiring Janu-
ary 20, 2005, vice Eduardo Aguirre, Jr., re-
signed.

Benjamin A. Gilman,
of New York, to be a Representative of the
United States of America to the 58th Session
of the General Assembly of the United Na-
tions.

Sanford Gottesman,
of Texas, to be a member of the Board of
Directors of the Overseas Private Investment
Corporation for a term expiring December
17, 2005, vice Gary A. Barron, term expired.

Walid Maalouf,
of Virginia, to be an Alternate Representative
of the United States of America to the 58th
Session of the General Assembly of the
United Nations.

Robert Hurley McKinney,
of Indiana, to be a member of the Advisory
Board for Cuba Broadcasting for a term ex-
piring October 27, 2004, vice William A.
Geoghegan, term expired.

Diane M. Ruebling,
of California, to be a member of the Board
of Directors of the Overseas Private Invest-
ment Corporation for a term expiring De-
cember 17, 2005 (reappointment).

James M. Strock,
of California, to be a member of the U.S.
Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy
for a term expiring July 1, 2006, vice Penny
Percy Korth, term expired.

C. William Swank,
of Ohio, to be a member of the Board of
Directors of the Overseas Private Investment
Corporation for a term expiring December
17, 2005 (reappointment).

Franklin S. Van Antwerpen,
of Pennsylvania, to be U.S. Circuit Judge for
the Third Circuit, vice Edward R. Becker,
retired.

Withdrawn November 21

April H. Foley,
of New York, to be a member of the Board
of Directors of the Export-Import Bank of
the United States for a term expiring January
20, 2007, vice Dan Herman Renberg, term
expired, which were sent to the Senate on
April 10, 2003, and May 14, 2003.

Checklist of White House Press Releases

The following list contains releases of the Office
of the Press Secretary that are neither printed as
items nor covered by entries in the Digest of
Other White House Announcements.

Released November 17

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Sec-
retary Scott McClellan

Statement by the Press Secretary announcing
that the President signed H.R. 1442, H.R.
3288, S. 677, and S. 924

Released November 18

Statement by the Press Secretary announcing
that the President signed S. 313

Released November 20

Transcript of remarks by First Lady Laura
Bush in a Q & A with the press

Released November 21

Transcript of a gaggle by Deputy Press Sec-
retary Claire Buchan

Statement by the Deputy Press Secretary on
Congressional Passage of H.R. 2115, the
Federal Aviation Administration Reauthor-
ization Bill

Statement by the Deputy Press Secretary on
disaster assistance to Puerto Rico

Statement by the Deputy Press Secretary on
disaster assistance to West Virginia

Acts Approved by the President

Approved November 17

H.R. 1442 / Public Law 108-126
To authorize the design and construction of
a visitor center for the Vietnam Veterans Me-
morial

1676

Administration of George W. Bush, 2003

H.R. 3288 / Public Law 108-127

To amend title XXI of the Social Security Act to make technical corrections with respect to the definition of qualifying State

S. 924 / Public Law 108-129

To authorize the exchange of lands between an Alaska Native Village Corporation and the Department of the Interior, and for other purposes

S. 677 / Public Law 108-128

Black Canyon of the Gunnison Boundary Revision Act of 2003

Approved November 18

S. 313 / Public Law 108-130

Animal Drug User Fee Act of 2003